

U.S. imposes sanctions, keeps ties with apartheid

BY FRED FELDMAN

The Reagan administration has imposed some mild sanctions against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa. This is a concession to the deepening anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and to the growing anti-apartheid movement here in the United States.

Issued in the form of an executive order, most provisions are effective starting October 11.

The most important of the economic sanctions, if implemented, will ban further imports of the Krugerrand, the South African gold coin. As a delaying tactic the administration is seeking permission from the 90-nation General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The import and sale of South African gold bullion will continue.

Reagan said he was banning loans to the South African government. But he expected those "which improve economic opportunities or educational, housing, and health facilities that are open and accessible to South Africans of all races."

This loophole is quite wide. In the past, Reagan has claimed that all U.S. investments and loans in South Africa help Blacks.

Reagan banned U.S. export assistance to any U.S. company employing more than 25 people in South Africa that refused to sign the Sullivan principles.

The principles were authored by Leon Sullivan, a Black minister who is on the board of directors of General Motors. They were expanded last year. They call for support to "the freedom of mobility of Black workers" and the end of all apartheid laws, inclusion of Blacks in management, maintenance of nonsegregated plant facilities, and other measures.

Sullivan admits the principles have little impact in South Africa and that many companies, having endorsed the principles, proceed to ignore them.

Reagan expanded a ban on the export of most nuclear technology to South Africa that was first imposed by the Carter administration. He also restricted the sale of computers to the South African government.

These measures don't even touch the billions of dollars that U.S. banks and corporations have invested in apartheid.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, a leader of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, described the sanctions as "not even a flea bite" against apartheid.

Reagan "has really been saying Blacks are expendable," said Tutu. "I said he was a crypto-racist. I should say now he is a racist pure and simple."

The United Democratic Front, a coalition of 600 anti-apartheid organizations with 2 million members that has led many of the current protests, declared in a statement that the apartheid government "is rapidly driving itself into social, political and economic exile from the rest of the world."

Randall Robinson, co-chairman of the Free South Africa Movement, said, "The executive order and speech were designed to help him reconcile his reflexive sympathy for the white minority government of South Africa with the building opposition to his program of constructive engagement in the United States. . . . The South African government will be pleased no doubt that President Reagan remains a de facto ally of that vicious regime."

The imposition of sanctions — even such limited ones — is a blow to the apartheid regime. It reinforces the status of the murderous South African government as an international pariah. Even the regime's closest imperialist allies feel compelled to take measures against it.

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Confidence of anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa grows with increasing political, diplomatic, and economic isolation of regime.

Get out truth — sell 'Militant'

September 14 marks the opening date of the fall circulation drive for the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Politically, it couldn't have come at a better time.

The escalation of the freedom struggle in South Africa and the upsurge of solidarity it's evoked here alone are enough to assure

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a bigger, more receptive potential audience than we've had in a long time. And there's a lot more happening besides.

It will be a two-month drive, ending November 16. During that time we're aiming to sell 40,000 copies of both publications, and 2,000 introductory subscriptions as well.

The past several weeks have been a good warmup for the campaign. Beginning with the special South Africa issue of the *Militant* we published at the end of August and the several issues since, sales in all areas have jumped substantially.

A number of Socialist Workers Party branches report that their sales at plant gates have gone up since the South Africa events.

Throughout the country, community sales have gone up considerably, in some cases more than double previous averages.

There's been a great deal of receptivity at South Africa demonstrations.

At a New York picket of 300, a hundred copies of the *Militant* and *PM* were sold.

Two of our salespeople who sell weekly at a Queens garment shop report that since the South Africa events hit the headlines, sales at the plant have virtually doubled. Last week they sold nine copies of *PM* and five of the *Militant*. One of the salespeople whose Spanish is limited sold five copies of *PM* simply by holding it aloft with its cover headline on South Africa.

This sense of solidarity with the South

African struggle touches almost all sections of the population.

College campuses were the scene of significant solidarity actions last spring and the opening days of school confirm they'll be a lot bigger in the fall.

Particularly encouraging is the way that organized labor has moved into the forefront of the anti-apartheid movement, playing a key role in demonstrations in all parts of the country. This year's Labor Day parades were marked by the many union banners denouncing apartheid.

While South Africa has been the center of renewed political activism, it's by no means the only one.

Opposition to Washington's war in Central America remains a substantial concern and will be the focus of important protest actions this fall.

Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and other Latinos are involved in protest against racism.

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FBI invades Puerto Rico, seizes 11

BY ANA LOPEZ

NEW YORK — More than 200 FBI agents, armed to the teeth, flew into Puerto Rico from the United States and raided over 38 homes and offices of independence supporters. This attack is the largest armed action by the U.S. government against the Puerto Rican independence movement since it repressed the 1950 anticolonial uprising on the island.

"With this attack the U.S. government is continuing its witch-hunt of the Puerto Rican independence movement. This attack should be condemned by all those in the United States who support democratic rights," said Andrea González, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City.

By the end of the August 30 military operation, 11 supporters of independence had been arrested on the island. The FBI claims

Sandinistas combat racist oppression

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Many countries in Latin America have distinct Indian and Black populations in addition to those who speak Spanish. This is a legacy of the colonial conquest of these countries and the enslavement of Africans. But it is only in Nicaragua that a government is charting a revolutionary course toward overcoming the historical oppression faced by Indians and Blacks as part of advancing the interests of all the workers and peasants.

The Nicaraguan people are currently engaged in a national discussion on a proposal to establish regional government autonomy for the country's Atlantic Coast where most Indians and Blacks live. The proposal is aimed at unifying Nicaragua as a multiracial, multilingual, and multicultural nation; strengthening its defense against imperialist-backed aggression; and deepening the participation of all the nation's working people in the revolutionary process.

Historically, Nicaragua's original inhabitants were Indians whose lands were invaded on the Pacific Coast by Spanish colonizers and on the Atlantic Coast by the British. While most Indian tribes disappeared as such on the Pacific, the British, for their own reasons, decided to allow the Indian tribes on the Atlantic Coast to remain intact. The British also brought in African slaves.

As a result, the Atlantic Coast population today is distinctly different in its racial composition, language, and culture from the Pacific. While the Pacific Nicaraguans are predominantly *mestizos*, meaning Spanish-speaking, on the Atlantic Coast there are six separate racial groups, each with its own history and traditions.

There are three groups of Indians, or indigenous peoples, as they are often called here: Miskitos, numbering 80,000 including those currently living in Honduras; Sumos, 8,000; and Ramas, 800. Each has its own language.

There are two groups whose ancestors were African slaves: Creoles (or Blacks), numbering 30,000; and Garífonos, numbering 1,500. Many Creoles speak English as well as Spanish. The Garífonos have a separate language.

There are also about 120,000 *mestizos* on the Coast.

Nicaragua's total population is 3 million.

The Spanish, British, and then U.S. colonialism.

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these 11, as well as three others arrested that day in Dallas, Boston, and Mexico, are members of the *Macheteros* (literally machete wielders), a proindependence organization. They have been charged with participating in the 1983 \$7 million robbery of a Wells Fargo armored truck in Connecticut.

Those arrested in the raid in Puerto Rico were Hilton Fernández, Angel Díaz Ruiz, Ivonne Meléndez, Norman Ramírez Talavera, Elías Castro Ramos, Norberto González Claudio, Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, Carlos M. Ayes Suárez, Jorge Farinacci, Isaac Camacho, and Luis Alfredo Colón Osorio. Luz Berríos Berríos was arrested in Cuernavaca, Mexico; Juan Enrique Segarra Palmer in Dallas; and Anne L. Gassin in Boston. The FBI has warrants for the arrest of three others as well.

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—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY ALVINO CARRILLO
AND DIANE SHUR

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — In order to build solidarity with the freedom struggle in South Africa, Kansas City socialists have decided to redouble our efforts to sell the *Militant*.

In addition to stepping up community sales on Saturdays, sales to workers on the job, and sales on the campuses in the area, we have put special emphasis on *Militant* sales at the plant gates. Socialist workers here have increased the number of plant gate sales we organize. With this expansion, we have also been able to reorganize every member of the Socialist

Workers Party here to participate in these sales.

Socialists have established, for the first time, a regular sale at the Burlington Northern railroad yard. We sell there on pay day when workers come to pick up their checks.

On a recent sale at the yard, one railroad worker stuck his copy of the *Militant* out the window of a company truck to show it to the salesperson. A coworker had already sold him the paper. After some discussion he decided to buy a subscription.

Scheduling problems had forced us to suspend sales at the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Work-

ers-organized Colgate-Palmolive plant. With the expansion of our plant gate sales we re-established this sale. Sales teams report that our return was warmly welcomed by the workers there.

The increased number of plant gate sales has also meant resuming *Militant* sales at the United Steelworkers organized ARMCO and Butler Aluminum plants. Workers in these plants are interested in both the South Africa coverage and the articles on the steelworkers' strike against Wheeling-Pittsburgh.

In the course of selling the *Militant*, socialists participate in dis-

cussions on all aspects of the South Africa freedom struggle. These discussions include questions like: what is apartheid? What is the role of U.S. companies in South Africa?

Many workers are suspicious of these companies' claims that they are helping Blacks. As one worker told a *Militant* salesperson, "These companies are not there to change the apartheid system. They are there to make money."

Other workers want to discuss the impact that the struggle against apartheid is having on the fight against racism in the United States.

One group of workers at a GM

plant have been organizing meetings to discuss how they and the union can help fight against the U.S. government's support for the South African government.

Salespeople in Kansas City have found that no matter what question workers have about the struggle in South Africa, many express appreciation for the *Militant* because it clarifies the issues.

As opposition to the U.S. government's support for the white minority regime in South Africa grows, there will be many more workers who will be looking to follow developments in the struggle there through the pages of the *Militant*.

Seattle protests win censure of racist official

BY DAN FEIN

SEATTLE — The Seattle School Board meeting was packed by 350 people demanding "Roe must go!"

The meeting, held on the evening of August 21, ended four-and-a-half hours later with a four-to-two vote censuring board member Ellen Roe for making racist, sexist, and anti-working class remarks to the press.

An opponent of school desegregation, Roe was quoted in the July 1985 *Lake City News* as arguing that children of different

socioeconomic backgrounds should not be in the same classrooms. "What happens when you put a child whose mother is a prostitute in Holly Park [a public housing project in Seattle's Black community] who doesn't know anything but the inside of his scruffy house together with a boy like mine whose parents and grandparents have taken him everywhere?"

Roe also told the *News* that she would not hire women for positions of authority because they are "emotional and petty."

Roe's statements sparked demands for

her resignation from a broad range of Black, labor, Latino, and women's organizations. This demand was also voiced at a previous meeting at the Mt. Zion Baptist Church, attended by 400 people.

An earlier school board meeting, held behind closed doors, removed Roe from two minor committees but refused to censure her.

The board's refusal to demand Roe's resignation resulted in a charge by Alex Stephen, representing the National Council of Black Lawyers, that the board was carrying out a policy of "constructive engagement" with Roe.

The August 21 school board meeting was preceded by a picket line of 75 people chanting "Down with Roe" and "Roe must go."

School board members were visibly shaken by the militant crowd, over one-half Black, including many from the Holly Park housing project. As the meeting started, chants of "Roe must go" began.

The first speakers were Millie Russell and Oscar Eason representing the Coalition for the Education of Black Children. They gave the board petitions with the signatures of more than 7,000 people demanding Roe's resignation. They indicated that petitioning is continuing.

Abdul-Hagg of the Nation of Islam received loud cheers when he said, "Black people have never had any representation on the Seattle School Board. The problem is not just Roe, but institutionalized racism."

Throughout the evening many speakers pointed to the links between the struggle against racism in the United States and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

Lacey Steele, representing 2,500 members of the NAACP in Seattle, demanded that Roe resign.

"Your presence is an insult to women and minorities," said Ruth Balf, who spoke for 1,400 members of the Seattle National Organization for Women.

James Bender, president of the King County Central Labor Council, said he had been raised in public housing projects. He blasted the seven-member board for refusing to sign a contract with the schools' food service and maintenance employees.

Roe had her back to the speakers throughout the entire evening. Other speakers included those from the National Women's Political Caucus, Urban League, Church Council of Greater Seattle, National Conference of Black Lawyers, and Socialist Workers Party.

Finally, the board voted to censure Roe.

Detroit UAW hits takebacks

BY MORRIE DIETRICH

DETROIT — United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1200 held a highly successful informational picket on the eve of the expiration of the national contract with General Dynamics (GD). The August 28 picket, with over 50 workers participating, began at 8 a.m. with afternoon and night shift workers, and ended at noon with day shift workers spending their lunch breaks on the spirited picket line.

Teamster haulers and others honked their horns in solidarity as they drove by on busy Van Dyke street in front of the tank plant in Warren, just bordering Detroit on the north. Many placards read: "No concessions".

Lump sum payments (as opposed to yearly increases in wages), two-tier wage and COLA (cost-of-living-adjustment) progression, lost holidays, and wage and COLA parity with workers employed by Chrysler, which owned the tank plant until 1982, are major issues in the negotiations. The contract expires September 14.

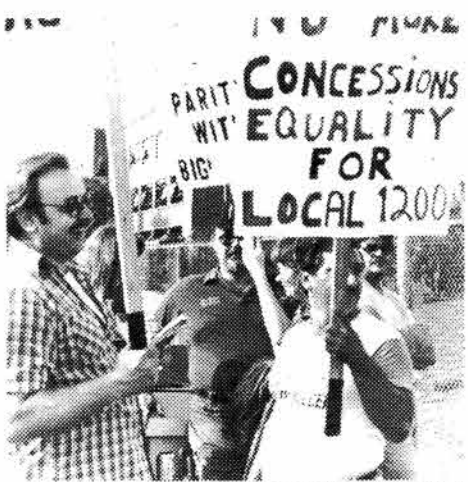
The opportunity for the picket occurred with the rollout ceremony for the new M1M1 Abrams tank, which was turned into a big media event by GD.

As afternoon shift committeeman Ben Polselli told TV and newspaper reporters, the 34 cents an hour GD has offered over a three year contract is cheap compared to

the hundreds of thousands in taxpayers' dollars squandered on this ceremonial extravaganza.

GD officials were visibly shaken by the union's action and tried unsuccessfully to prevent reporters from leaving the plant to cover the picketline outside. The company also tried to intimidate picketers by taking names on a clipboard throughout the morning.

Many unionists viewed this action as a rehearsal of what is to come upon expiration of the contract. A strike is viewed as imminent by the local leadership.



Militant/Morrie Dietrich
General Dynamics workers walk informational picket before expiration of contract.

Companies pay no taxes, get refunds

BY RASHAAD ALI

"It's a public scandal when members of the Fortune 500 pay less in taxes than the people who wax their floors or type their letters," said Robert S. McIntyre, the author of a new study by the Citizens for Tax Justice.

The new study showed that 50 of this country's largest corporations with combined profits of more than \$56 billion paid no federal taxes from 1981 to 1984.

Forty-eight corporations during the same period had enough extra tax breaks to receive refunds totalling almost \$2.4 billion.

Large defense contractors, oil and gas companies, utilities, timber manufacturers, aerospace firms, airlines, telecommunica-

tions companies, and banks were among major corporations most often escaping tax payments.

Boeing Co., General Dynamics, Northrop Corp., and other military hardware contractors also avoid taxes under a provision that lets them defer tax bills on some income for decades.

The study showed seven companies with tax rebates of 100 million dollars or more for the same period from 1981 to 1984.

Boeing got \$285 million; Dow Chemical Co., \$180 million; ITT, \$177 million; Tenneco, \$166 million; PepsiCo, \$135.8 million; Santa Fe Southern Pacific Corp., \$133.4 million and General Dynamics, \$103.8 million.

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That's the way you'll get facts about Washington's war against working people at home and abroad: from South Africa, El Salvador and Nicaragua, to embattled workers and farmers in the United States. Read our proposals on how to stop the U.S. government's support for the apartheid regime in South Africa, its intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, and the employers' offensive here. Read our ideas on what it will take to replace this system of exploitation, racism, and sexism with a system that's in the interest of working people.

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N.Y. Labor Day parade protests apartheid

BY FRED MURPHY

NEW YORK — Protests by trade unionists against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa were highly visible in the annual Labor Day Parade here September 2.

It took over five hours for the estimated 250,000 of the city's working people to march up Fifth Avenue in Manhattan.

While the bulk of the printed signs prepared and distributed to the tens of thousands of marchers by union officials called either for restrictions on imported goods or for voting for one or another capitalist politician in the upcoming New York City municipal elections, several of the union contingents made solidarity with the South African freedom struggle their official focus.

Many of the marchers carried "Free South Africa" signs.

Contingents took part from most of the many union locals that are represented in the New York Central Labor Council, the official sponsor of the parade. Interspersed among the marching workers were brass bands, fife and drum corps, bagpipers, and floats depicting the rich variety of trades and occupations carried out by New York's working people.

Near the front of the parade as the marchers made their way up Fifth Avenue was a large contingent of garment workers from International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 23-25, carrying printed two-sided placards reading "Freedom for South Africa Now!" and "Freedom Yes, Apartheid No!" Among the local's banners was one calling for "Amnesty for Undocumented Workers."

The Transport Workers Union (TWU), which represents thousands of workers in the New York subway and bus lines, had dozens of placards reading "End apartheid in South Africa" and others with such slogans as "We want jobs, not Star Wars" and "Make the rich pay their fair share of taxes!"

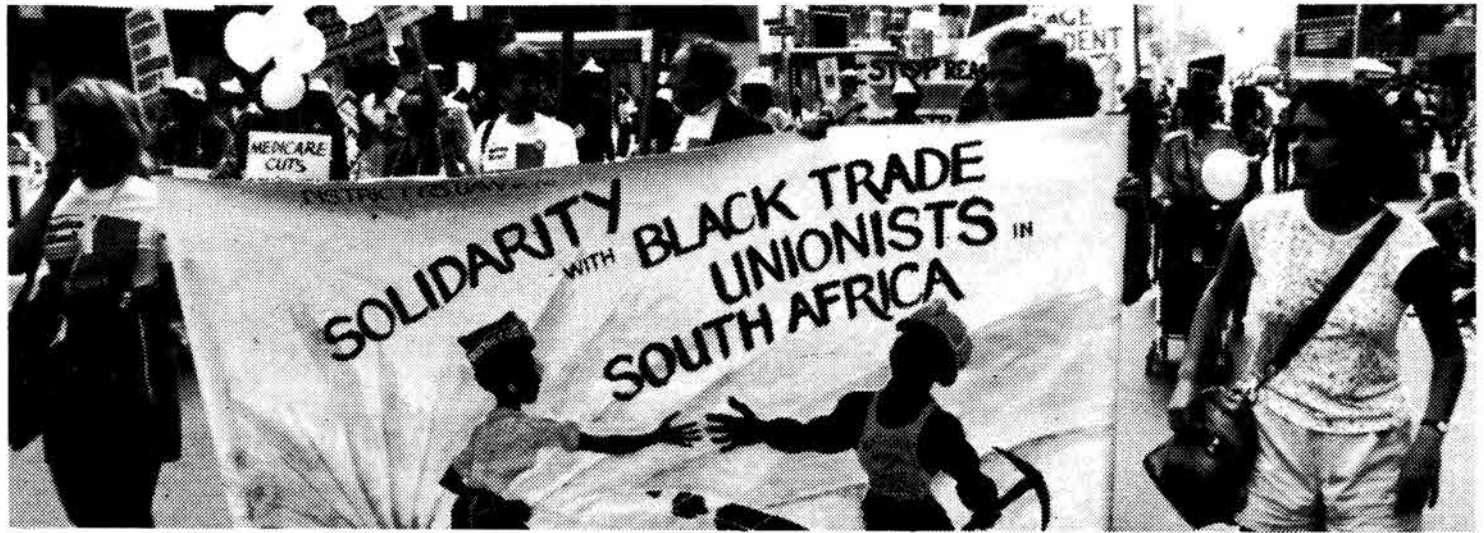
Local 420 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) — which represents workers in public hospitals here — focused all its participation on the freedom struggle in South Africa. Among a wide variety of union signs and banners on this theme was one urging labor to "Support National Protests Against Apartheid." Local 420 President Jim Butler has played a central role in the recent labor-sponsored actions against apartheid here in New York.

In a full page ad in the *Amsterdam News*, the country's largest circulation Black weekly, the local called on the Reagan administration to "take action against the outlaw state of South Africa," and demanded that "military, political, cultural, and economic sanctions must be imposed."

Workers from the various unions in the New York hotel industry all marched together and carried signs celebrating the gains won in their recent strike.

The largest contingent in the parade by far was made up of electricians from Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. As did other contingents, many of these marchers carried "Labor for Koch" signs distributed by supporters of incumbent Democratic Mayor Edward I. Koch.

Near the end of the parade marched another vigorously anti-apartheid contingent sponsored by District 65 of the United Auto Workers (UAW). Besides members of the UAW — which includes clerical, university, garment, retail, and other workers — District 65 had invited any



Militant/Fred Murphy

UAW District 65 contingent was one of many contingents in New York parade that carried anti-apartheid banners

other New Yorkers who wished to express solidarity with the South African freedom struggle to join the parade with them. The contingent was led with a big banner reading "Apartheid must go!"; another District 65 banner read "Stop Reagan's war in Central America!"

The final contingent of marchers in the Labor Day parade was made up of workers from a variety of unions that called for solidarity with the Arizona copper miners who have been on strike against Phelps Dodge since the summer of 1983. Two leaders of the Arizona miners traveled to New York

to take part in the parade and make other efforts to win support for the miners' struggle. (See accompanying article.)

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate, Andrea González, also took part in the Labor Day Parade.

Detroit: 170,000 march on Labor Day

BY ANDREW PULLEY

DETROIT — Labor Day here was the largest in two decades. Nearly 170,000 people marched or cheered the parade that stretched four miles down Woodward Avenue.

The official themes were celebration of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the United Auto Workers (UAW) and Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO), and appreciation of Vietnam veterans.

The character of the slogans was mixed, ranging from "Buy American" to "U.S. out of South Africa." The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union carried picket signs demanding "Jobs and Peace Now."

UAW Local 1200, which may be forced on strike against the General Dynamics Corp. when its contract expires September 14, carried a large banner that read: "No lump sums, no two tier from GD to South Africa, Yes to Martin Luther King's Birthday, we want the right to strike."

UAW Local 140, representing workers in a Chrysler plant, carried the slogans "Stop outsourcing" and "Lee got his, we want ours," referring to Chrysler's President Lee Iacocca's million dollar bonus.

United Farmworkers of Michigan carried a big banner demanding "justice for those who feed us," and "time for liberation of farm workers."

The National Organization for Women contingent carried a banner calling for equal pay for women.

A number of contingents marched with banners and picket signs condemning U.S. support to apartheid in South Africa.

Practically every speaker denounced apartheid and voiced support to the liberation struggle there. Metro Detroit AFL-CIO President Tom Turner said, "This parade celebrates the birthday of the UAW and CIO as well as ten years after ending the Vietnam war." Applauding "labor's proud history and bright future," he said "labor has fought for social justice in this country and yes, in South Africa."

Detroit Mayor Coleman Young said

right-wing forces "are coming together to attempt to push us back, attempt to repeal the civil rights act, and stop social security. The same Reagan who does all this backs Botha who murders Black people in South Africa."

Tom Donahue, secretary treasurer of the national AFL-CIO, remarked, "You are not alone, we say to workers of South Africa. We keep pressuring Washington and Pretoria until apartheid dies."

"Two hundred workers changed the political and economic landscape of this country forever," said UAW president Owen Bieber, referring to a 1935 meeting which founded the UAW.

Referring to South Africa, Bieber said, "We can't have freedom and justice in America today as long as workers of South Africa have none."

Richard Trumka, president of the United Mineworkers of America (UMWA), was a featured speaker at the rally. He led a contingent of 200 Kentucky coal miners on strike against the A.T. Massey Company. This "Coaltown to Motown" caravan was in response to solidarity, including \$50,000 in food and clothing, delivered to them by 200 auto workers in a "Motown to Coaltown" caravan organized by the UAW in August.

"In the '30s, the courts and local, state, and federal governments tried to stop the UAW and other unions," Trumka told the rally. "The UMWA faces a similar situation in Kentucky and West Virginia today."

"In face of giant multinational corpora-

tions willing to exploit slave labor in the interest of gaining a competitive advantage," Trumka declared, "we need real solidarity and not just lip service."

"We must not limit ourselves to the legalism which bound us. Now is the time to think out a winning strategy," Trumka said. "We must abandon strategies that don't work and in some cases haven't worked in 30 years."

"Defeats of working people in this country or any country, including South Africa, are defeats for us," he said. "The UMWA stands to unite with all unions to meet today's challenges."

In contrast to many positive political positions expressed by various speakers, some reactionary views were also presented.

Tom Turner said, "Just as labor overcame antiunion forces in the past, we'll overcome the Datsuns from Japan and the Datsuns who sit in the Reagan administration today."

In addition, a United Steelworkers contingent carried banners saying, "Keep out foreign steel." Not to be outdone, the Detroit Building Trades contingent of 1,000 stuck little U.S. flags all over themselves.

Detroit labor officials also announced their customary backing of Democratic Party candidates for mayor and city council.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers campaign of Kibwe Diarra for mayor distributed hundreds of campaign statements. Marchers bought 100 copies of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*.

Az. striking copper miners march in N.Y. parade

BY KAREN KOPPERUD

NEW YORK — When unionists here marched on Labor Day they were joined by two striking Arizona copper miners. Angel Rodríguez, president of United Steelworkers Local 616 of Morenci, and Ray Isner, chair of the Clifton-Morenci Labor Unity Council were there to publicize the long fight of the 13 unions forced out on strike in July 1983 by Phelps Dodge, Arizona's largest copper producer.

Rodríguez explained why the strikers have held out so long: "If our strike has shown that it is possible to hold out, to fight back, if it makes people a little more militant, then we have contributed something to the labor movement. Even if we lose, if we make people aware that you have to fight back, then we have made labor a little stronger. And if we have made our leadership aware that workers don't want to give back, that they are willing to fight, then that's something."

"We have to maintain that we are still

fighting," he said. "We now have a network of supporters around the country. If we can show that we are still fighting we can draw on that for the guys at Kennecott and all the rest when they need it."

The next copper industry-wide contract negotiations are in 1986.

Commenting on the anti-apartheid signs in the march, Isner said that one third of Phelps Dodge's 1981 profits came from holdings in South Africa. Rodríguez said, "PD is part of the problem in South Africa. They stand for everything that apartheid is all about. They pay their Black workers 55 cents an hour."

Recalling PD's deportation of strikers from Bisbee, Arizona, in 1917 and the brutal segregation of Chicanos and Native Americans in PD company towns as late as 1968, Rodríguez added, "That's the kind of company they are. They don't care about workers' rights in South Africa or in Arizona."

South African unionist tours U.S.

On September 6 South African unionist Tozamile Botha, administrative director of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, started a one-month tour of the United States.

In late 1979, Tozamile Botha came into prominence in South Africa as the central leader of a strike by several hundred Black workers at the Ford Motor plant in Port Elizabeth. It was one of the most militant strikes in recent years with workers explicitly linking their economic grievances against the company to their opposition to South Africa's racist system of apartheid.

Botha first became politically active following the massive 1976 youth uprisings,

when he organized a fundraising campaign to defend arrested student activists.

On Jan. 10, 1980, he was detained by the South African security police. He was later released and banned.

In May 1980 Botha escaped and fled abroad. He has been living in exile since then, continuing to organize against the apartheid regime.

Botha's tour will be in St. Louis on September 14-15, Milwaukee 17-19, Detroit 20-21, and San Jose 22-27.

For more information contact the office of the African National Congress, 801 Second Ave. Room 405, New York, N.Y. 10017, or call (212) 490-3487.



Militant/Bill Gretter

Meeting of Coast peoples in Managua to discuss autonomy plan. Most of those in attendance were Miskitos.

democratic liberties," it explains.

In the course of meeting these demands, the revolution has had to overcome the Somozaist legacy of "mutual distrust and prejudice which developed between the population of the Atlantic and Pacific regions," the document says.

U.S. imperialism, the document continues, took advantage of these "historical contradictions and the Revolution's limitations and mistakes . . . to distort the ethnic question against the Revolution, confusing the legitimate claims and aspirations of the indigenous peoples and communities of the Atlantic Coast and diverting many toward the goal of destabilization."

Under the false banner of defending the rights of the Coastal peoples, the CIA drew a layer of them, particularly Miskitos, into its mercenary army. While many of these Miskitos have laid down their arms and returned to their communities under an amnesty program, two armed Miskito groups continue to exist.

A goal of the autonomy proposal is to open the door to a political solution to the military conflict on the Coast, including by trying to draw into the autonomy discussions some of the Miskito forces who have not laid down their arms.

Principles of autonomy

The document outlines the political principles on which autonomy will be based. First, "Nicaragua is one indivisible nation, and the sovereignty of the Revolutionary State extends throughout the national territory."

Second, "Nicaragua is a multi-ethnic country, struggling against all forms of discrimination, racism, separatism, ethnocentrism, localism, isolationism, and hegemonism. . . . The indigenous peoples and other communities of the Atlantic Coast are an indissoluble part of the Nicaraguan people."

Third, "Having won full national independence for the entire Nicaraguan people and by eliminating the power of the unpatriotic bourgeoisie, the Sandinista Popular Revolution has created for the first time in history the conditions which can guarantee participation in the construction of a new society to the indigenous peoples and communities of the Atlantic Coast, on an equal basis with the rest of the Nicaraguan people."

Fourth, "The unity of the Nicaraguan people in their revolutionary objectives, combined with diversity of language, culture, and religion, are unforsakeable goals of the Revolution."

Fifth, "The defense of national sovereignty and of the nation's territorial integrity is the supreme duty of every Nicaraguan citizen. The exercise of the rights of autonomy will contribute to the strengthening of national unity and will increase the participation of the indigenous peoples and communities of the Atlantic Coast in the task of defending national sovereignty."

Specific rights

The document lists specific rights guaranteed to peoples of the Atlantic Coast, including the following:

- "the full right to preserve their own cultures and historical and religious heritage";
- "the right to the free use and develop-

ment of their languages";

- "the right to receive education in their native language and in Spanish";
- "the right to organize their social and economic activity in accordance with their values and traditions";
- "the right to individual or collective possession of the lands they have traditionally occupied";
- "the right to use of the lands, forests, and surface, subterranean, and coastal waters of the areas they inhabit" and to determine "the rational use of the natural resources of the region."

Regional government structure

The proposed structure of the autonomous regional government is as follows. There will be one single law establishing autonomy and defining the boundaries of the specific regions where it will be applied. Assemblies will be elected in each of these regions. Every racial group — no

matter how small — is guaranteed representation.

The current thinking is to have one regional assembly in Northern Zelaya and another in Southern Zelaya. Each of these assemblies will also elect an executive body from their membership.

Each regional assembly will be empowered to write its own statute on functioning. It will ensure the observance of the rights of all the Coastal peoples. It will also implement national laws and present proposals to Nicaragua's National Assembly to adapt national laws to the specific situation on the Coast.

The assembly will "ensure, in coordination with the national police force, the maintenance of law and order within the autonomous region and attempt to ensure that the members and officers of the force are inhabitants of the autonomous region," the document explains. It will also "promote . . . participation in the defense of national sovereignty and territorial integrity."

'Blacks are speaking out for first time'

BY BILL GRETTTER
AND CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "The struggle of Blacks in South Africa, in Namibia, in Watts, and in Harlem is no different than the struggle we as a people had here in Nicaragua," says Yolanda Campbell.

Campbell is a Black Nicaraguan from this country's Atlantic Coast. She comes from Southern Zelaya, whose population consists of Blacks (or Creoles), *mestizos* (Spanish-speaking Nicaraguans), Rama Indians, and Garifonos.

Campbell is a representative from Southern Zelaya on the national commission working here to prepare a law that will grant local government autonomy to the peoples of the Coast. There are also members of the commission from Northern Zelaya, where the population is Miskito Indian, *mestizo*, and Sumo Indian.

Campbell is a national spokeswoman in Managua for the autonomy commission. The *Militant* interviewed her August 27 at the Autonomy House here in the capital.

'We were considered an innate object'

Under the regime of Anastasio Somoza, overthrown in 1979, the Atlantic Coast was kept even more underdeveloped than the Pacific, Campbell explains. The Coast peoples were barely recognized as human beings. "We were considered an innate object that didn't have to be worried about," she says. "The attitude was, 'Well, those people are just out there eating fish and bananas.'"

Extreme isolation from the rest of the country and the world was imposed on the Coast, shown by the fact that today many people outside Nicaragua still do not know there are thousands of Black Nicaraguans who speak English.

Under the Somoza dictatorship, Campbell says, a Black person like herself would never have been allowed to be a spokesperson for anything. "I would have been a source of embarrassment for the government. I would have had to be at least a *mestizo*, preferably with European features," she says with a laugh.

Long before the 1979 revolution, Nicaraguan Blacks aspired to be recognized as a

people and granted their rights. But it was not until 1979 when the Nicaraguan masses rose up and overthrew Somoza, establishing a revolutionary government, that the voice of Black people could be heard, she says. "This is the first time a government is saying, 'we've heard your cries, we've heard your requests, your demands. We're listening — you are right.'"

At the time of the revolution, she explains, knowledge of the anti-Somoza struggle and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) that was leading it was very limited on the Atlantic Coast. The armed struggle took place on the Pacific side of the country. When news reached the Atlantic of Somoza's downfall, however, "it was very popular."

'Mistakes not intentional'

The development of the revolution on the Atlantic Coast was not simple, however. Campbell explained that in the course of trying to rapidly bring the level of development of the Atlantic Coast up to that of the Pacific, "a lot of mistakes were made."

"But those mistakes were not intentional," she stresses. "They were made because historically we have had a certain lack of confidence between those on the Atlantic and those on the Pacific. Historically we have been isolated, Atlantic from Pacific. The little knowledge we had was always from the point of view of the leading oppressing class."

The revolution opened the door for the Coast peoples to break out of their isolation. They began to take hold of their own destinies and play a role in the national life of the country. "We have had the opportunity in these last six years to really participate in ways we'd never imagined before," says Campbell.

"The only way we as the people of the Atlantic Coast could have been liberated was through the great struggle all of Nicaragua went through that culminated in 1979 with the victory. Had we not had this victory in 1979 as a nation, we could not aspire to even talk about autonomy, much less want it to become law."

The revolutionary government "is giving

The assembly will participate in the planning and implementation of economic policy, including on "land possession and tenure, economic programs, development programs, investment projects, organization and administration of enterprises," and "profits generated by the natural resources and production."

It will also ratify a regional budget to be presented to the national government and establish policies for a "special fund for development and social progress of the autonomous regions of the Atlantic Coast."

Powers of central government

Nicaragua's central government has the following powers, the document states:

- "Defense of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Nicaraguan nation."
- "Internal security of the State and regulation of citizenship."
- "International relations and foreign policy."
- "Foreign trade and customs operations."
- "National economic strategy," with the understanding that the revolution is based on "an economic strategy favoring the interests of the working people."

The national autonomy commission explains in its introduction to the document that "We envisage this document as the basis for a consultation which will allow further contributions and suggestions from the indigenous peoples and communities of the Atlantic Coast and of the Nicaraguan people as a whole, and which will also raise consciousness within Nicaragua and bring support from the international community. . . . [I]t will help to further develop the democratic nature of the Revolution, to unite the Nicaraguan family, and to achieve peace and national unity."

us full support," she continues, in the campaign for autonomy.

With government support, a document has been prepared on autonomy that is now serving as the basis for discussion at assemblies of Atlantic Coast peoples. The night before we interviewed Campbell, we had the opportunity to attend one such meeting for Coastal peoples residing here in the capital of Managua.

Campbell and other autonomy commission members addressed the gathering and then the mike was turned over to the audience so people could raise their questions, criticisms, and suggestions. Most of those in attendance were Miskitos and the discussion took place mainly in their language, with translation. Others spoke in English, Spanish, or Sumo.

"At that assembly you were at yesterday," Campbell points out, "it was evident that the people could look at us and tell us,

Continued on Page 14



Militant/Bill Gretter

Yolanda Campbell, member of autonomy commission. She says, "Struggle of Blacks in South Africa and Harlem was no different than struggle of Nicaraguan people" before revolution.

This week the *Militant* will start as a regular feature a column on the growing protests in this country both to break all U.S. ties with South Africa and to end the U.S.-organized war in Central America and the Caribbean.

The column will also report on anti-apartheid and antiwar actions around the world.

Philadelphians say "Apartheid no"

BY STEPHEN HUNTER

PHILADELPHIA — Chants of "Apartheid, No!" brought shoppers out of doors and into the streets here August 24, as 400 demonstrators marched through this city's downtown area to demand an end to U.S. support of the South African regime.

State Rep. Alphonso Deal, who also heads the North Philadelphia NAACP, told the mainly Black crowd, "What is happening in South Africa happened here once. Those signs you see in South Africa that say 'No Blacks on the beach' were once seen here."

Representing 36 unions that make up the Philadelphia Labor Coalition Against Apartheid, Bernie Dinkin of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Joint Board here read a statement denouncing the persecution of South African unionists.

"They are charged," Dinkin said, "with mobilizing unionists; with campaigning for the release of political prisoners; with popularizing revolutionary leaders and the Freedom Charter. They are charged with encouraging non-collaboration by workers — that is, with organizing strikes."

"In other words, they are charged with unionism."

In a statement read at the rally,

the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) rejected Reagan administration attempts to link Namibian independence to the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. It further asserted that "total economic and political sanction by all peace-loving nations will hasten the destruction of apartheid in South Africa and colonialism in Namibia."

Victor Mashabela of the African National Congress seconded this. U.S. corporations in South Africa, he said, "function in arrogant disregard of what Black South Africans want. There are economic cutbacks there just as there are here."

Mashabela called for the "isolation of apartheid" and breaking all U.S. corporate ties with the Pretoria regime.

The demonstration was organized by the Martin Luther King Anti-Apartheid Coalition.

Portland picket demands release of Mandela

BY CONNIE ALLEN

PORTLAND — A spirited demonstration of 150 picketed downtown August 30 to protest the arrest of Rev. Allan Boesak, organizer of a march in Cape Town, South Africa, to demand the release of Nelson Mandela.

The emergency picket was built on two days' notice in response to cop violence and repression of the August 28 demonstration to free Mandela, imprisoned leader of the African National Congress.

An August 29 press conference here announcing the picket heard from Avel Gordly, coordinator of Portlanders Organized for Southern African Freedom (POSAF).

Also at the press conference was Rev. John Garlington, presi-

dent of the Albina Ministerial Alliance; Rev. Terry Swicegood of Westminster Presbyterian Church; Rev. Jim Stewart, Lewis and Clark College chaplain; and Rev. Colin Jones, a Black South African Anglican priest visiting Portland.

"Constructive engagement finances the apartheid economy"; "Stop the blood money, divest now"; "Majority rule in South Africa"; "Children need freedom"; and "Dismantle apartheid" were on signs and chanted by the pickets that included unionists and students.

The crowd heard from Julia Hicks, president of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 128, who said it is time for us to band together as unionists and to say we won't tolerate U.S. support to apartheid anymore.

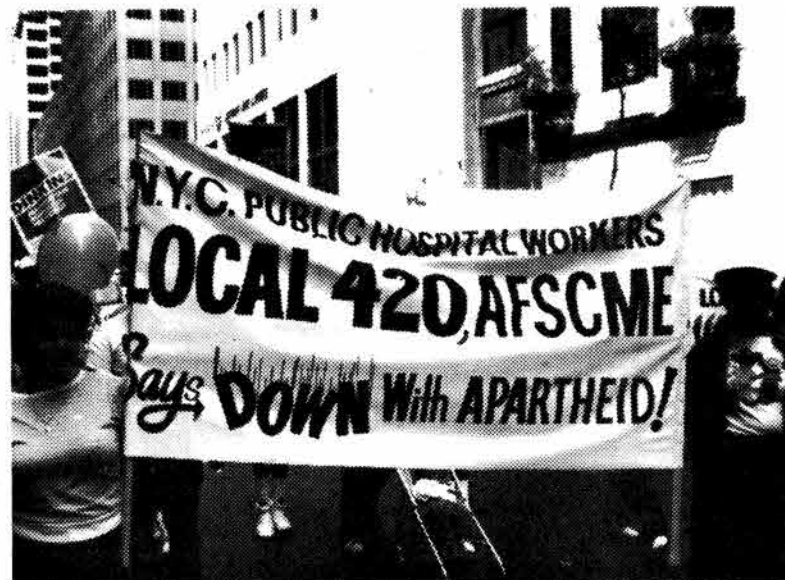
A symbolic passbook, a tool of repression against Blacks in South Africa, was burned to chants of "Apartheid must end."

It was announced that the coalition is organizing a city-wide demonstration against U.S. support to apartheid on October 12. There are also weekly pickets at Columbia Coin protesting sales of the South African gold coin, the Krugerrand.

South Africa's honorary consul in Cleveland resigns

BY SCOTT WARE

CLEVELAND — Anti-apartheid forces here scored a major victory on August 21 when Stephen M. Klonowski resigned as Honorary Consul for the Republic of South Africa. The Free South Africa Coalition, supported by many other organizations, has organized weekly picket lines out-



Militant/Fred Murphy

side of Klonowski's law offices here for the last eight months.

Klonowski's resignation at a crowded news conference came only days after protesters announced plans to begin picketing his home — a posh condominium in an exclusive area of town — as well as his office.

Cleveland City Council President George Forbes announced at the conference that protests convinced him that Klonowski's ties to apartheid were creating a growing "problem" for the city. He expressed relief that the problem was now resolved and that "we have now eliminated a cancer from the community."

Mylion Waite, associate director of the Interchurch Council of Greater Cleveland and leader of the Free South Africa Coalition, issued a victory statement to the press.

"We are thankful," she said, "for the solidarity of thousands of Clevelanders that joined us on the picket lines in front of the Standard Building, in rain, sleet and snow. Please know that your voices made a difference. Today

we have sent a message from Northeast Ohio around the world saying that the government of South Africa is no longer recognized here."

This latest victory has further stimulated a growing wave of anti-apartheid activity being planned here for the fall.

On September 21, the Free South Africa Coalition will be sponsoring a women's protest march against apartheid honoring the struggle of South African women against the hated pass laws in that country.

A rally against apartheid scheduled for October 11 has already received unprecedented support from labor, civil rights, women's, and religious organizations.

UFCW Local 880, the largest union local in northeast Ohio with 15,000 members, has donated its meeting hall for the rally, and Willy Baker, international vice president of the UFCW and head of its civil rights department, will be one of the speakers, as will Charles Pinzone, executive secretary of the Cleveland Building and Construction Trades Council.

Stop the executions; free Moloise, Xulu, Payi

BY FRED FELDMAN

The apartheid regime in South Africa is preparing to execute Malesela Benjamin Moloise, Sipho Xulu, and Clarence Lucky Payi.

Moloise, 30, was convicted in 1983 for the killing of a South African policeman who had specialized in helping the government frame up anti-apartheid activists. The African National Congress (ANC) has taken responsibility for killing the policeman, but says that Moloise was not involved.

Moloise was arrested in February 1983 as a material witness. He was charged with the killing only after he refused to give testimony against three others accused of the act. They were executed in June 1983.

Moloise is an upholsterer; he is also an actor and poet. He lived in the Winterveld Resettlement Camp in the Bophuthatswana Bantustan — one of the desolate reserves where Africans are forced to live when their labor is not needed elsewhere.

Momike Pauline Moloise, Moloise's mother, has issued an international appeal to stop the execution of her son. "I appeal

to you all," she stated, "to do everything possible to pressurize Botha to exercise discretion and mercy and free my son."

Moloise's hanging was set for August 21. It was put off under pressure from the international campaign against his execution and the growing struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

Sipho Xulu, 25, was involved in protests against rent increases in Sobantu village in 1982. In 1983 he left South Africa and underwent military training with the ANC.

Clarence Lucky Payi, 20, left South Africa following his involvement in a school boycott in his hometown of KwaMashu.

They were imprisoned in June 1984 following the killing of Benjamin Langa, a youth activist and former leader of the South African Students' Organization.

Within South Africa, the Release Mandela Committee — which demands freedom for imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela — is campaigning against the executions. A speaker at one meeting de-

nounced the South African government for "shooting young people and hanging the youth while the international community ... is celebrating the International Year of the Youth."

Protest messages demanding freedom for Moloise, Xulu, and Payi should be sent to President Ronald Reagan, White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C., and to P.W. Botha, State President, Union Building, Pretoria 0001, South Africa.

'IP' special on walkout of Australian SWP

On August 17 the National Committee of the Australian Socialist Workers Party formalized their split with the Fourth International.

This big development for the International is given special coverage in the current (September 23) issue of *Intercontinental Press*. To make this possible the number of pages has been expanded to 40. It has also necessitated postponing publication of Cuban President Fidel Castro's speech on the debt crisis advertised in last week's *Militant*. The speech will begin to appear in the October 7 *IP*.

In splitting, the Australian SWP leaders say the Fourth International is an obstacle to building the kind of international solidarity movement they think is needed, and it should never have been formed.

An article by *IP* editor Doug Jensen describes the origins of the Fourth International and its key place in defending the continuity of Leninism and the development of a mass revolutionary international.

An article by SWP leader Steve

Clark describes the Australian SWP leaders' accommodation to Stalinism as shown by their endorsement of the betrayal of the Vietnam independence struggles in the 1940s.

Several documents are also included that show the political degeneration of the Australian SWP leadership that led to their walkout.

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New Stage in South Africa Struggle



Anti-apartheid march by supporters of mass-based United Democratic Front

Australian SWP Leaders Declare Split From Fourth International

NATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA

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We urge you to attend this conference to help build the sustained movement necessary to cut off all U.S. support for apartheid.

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S. Africa rulers shaken by freedom struggle

BY FRED FELDMAN

South African President Pieter Botha has denounced businessmen for planning a meeting with exiled leaders of the African National Congress in neighboring Zambia.

The ANC is the most popular anti-apartheid organization in South Africa. Outlawed by the racist regime in 1960, its supporters have been in the forefront of the protests that are shaking the system.

In a recent survey, Nelson Mandela — the imprisoned ANC leader — led all others by a wide margin as Blacks' choice for president of South Africa.

On September 8, Botha condemned the planned meeting as "unwise and even disloyal." He restated his position that he would not discuss with the ANC unless it gave up the armed struggle against apartheid and expelled communists from its leadership.

Among those said to support the plan to meet with the ANC were chief executives of the Anglo-American Corporation, Barclays Bank, and Barlow Rand — some of South Africa's biggest businesses.

Officials of the Zambian government said the meeting would be held despite Botha's attack.

This development highlighted differences in South Africa's ruling class over how to end the Black revolt.

Four business organizations — comprising the big majority of South Africa's industrial and commercial firms — declared August 29, "Our survival depends on making the necessary structural changes." The statement proposed negotiations with "the whole spectrum of accepted Black leaders," including ANC leaders. They suggested ending the state of emergency imposed in July.

"Organized business would seriously warn against the danger of the country entering a state of siege in response to the threat of local boycotts, trade union strikes and stayaways, and international sanctions and disinvestment," the organizations stated.

A similar message came from Anton Rupert, chairman of the Rembrandt Group of companies. He warned that the government had a "final opportunity" to "introduce the sort of reforms the country is strongly signalling that it needs so urgently."

The difficulties of South Africa's capitalist economy also spur big-business criticisms of the government. Growth rates are down, unemployment has reportedly doubled in a year, and gold prices are in decline. The government has declared a four-month moratorium on payments of its foreign debt.

The Botha government cracked down on antidraft protests September 9, arresting four leaders of the movement against conscription and raiding a dozen homes and offices. Only whites are subject to the military draft in South Africa and whites pre-

dominate in the protests.

Deputy Defense Minister Adrian Vlok charged that antidraft actions were used "to achieve the ANC's evil goals."

The South African Council of Churches condemned the arrests. It accused the government of suppressing "every single legitimate attempt to appeal peacefully for the removal of the barrier of apartheid that is destroying our country."

The regime ordered 454 schools and colleges shut in the Cape Town area September 6, in an effort to stem protests by the Coloured section of the Black population.

A member of Botha's cabinet said the schools were closed because "they have now become the meeting place for organizing protests and, more than protests, arson and promoting violence."

"The schools are not performing an educational function," he said. Their educational function under apartheid is teaching white supremacy and Black inferiority.

Protests continued in the Cape Town area, however. On September 7, many thousands joined a funeral procession and rally for eleven victims of the regime. One of the dead was a two-month-old infant suffocated by tear gas.

Funeral participants carried ANC flags and banners supporting the armed struggle against apartheid.

After the funeral, large numbers of Black youth built barricades to fight off police attacks on their community. At least one person was killed.

Cape Town Blacks also staged protests in the parts of the city reserved, under the racist laws, for whites.



70,000 Blacks march in funeral procession in Duncan Village. Blacks have massively challenged regime's ban on protests at funerals for victims of apartheid.

Why Reagan imposed economic sanctions

Continued from front page

This fact adds to the growing confidence of the South African masses that the apartheid regime is doomed.

The sanctions mark a modification within the government policy of "constructive engagement" — a euphemism for supporting the South African government and opposing the struggle of the Black masses against it.

It marks a shift from Reagan's August 26 attempt to openly defend the Botha government. Reagan went so far as to claim that South Africa "has eliminated the segregation that we once had in our own country."

At that time, Reagan scarcely concealed his sympathy with ultrarightist Rev. Jerry Falwell's campaign in defense of the apartheid regime. One aspect of Falwell's racist crusade is urging the purchase of Krugers.

Reagan's remarks stirred wide protests in this country. And in South Africa, the

Black masses and their supporters intensified their anti-apartheid struggle despite daily massacres by the government.

On September 6 Reagan apologized for his statement that segregation had been eliminated in South Africa. He noted how "widespread" the reaction to his statements had been. On September 9 Reagan imposed the sanctions — in part to head off slightly stronger sanctions being considered by Congress.

In his statement announcing sanctions, Reagan denounced "the system of apartheid" as "deliberate, systematic, institutionalized racial discrimination denying the Black majority their God-given rights."

His statement expressed a growing consensus of opinion in the U.S. ruling class — one that is reflected in stands taken by the U.S. government, Congress, and the capitalist media. The South African government must adopt more sweeping reforms of the system, they argue, in order to make it possible to pacify the Black popu-

lation and prevent an even greater challenge to white minority rule.

In line with this, a U.S. government spokesperson recently called for releasing Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress, from prison. He criticized the conditions the South African government has attempted to place on his release.

The State Department has called on the Botha government to include the African National Congress in talks on the future of South Africa. "The ANC we look at as obviously one of a number of important political parties in this situation," said an official. "I mean, for us to say the Government shouldn't talk to the ANC would be madness."

Washington says it is for ending apartheid. Yet it does not support the democratic demand of the Black masses for one person, one vote. Nor does it call for majority rule.

In an interview with the *Washington Post*, published on August 29, a top administration official suggested that one-person, one-vote was a "winner-take-all system that would leave no place for the whites."

Washington opposes full democracy for the Black majority in South Africa, because that would mean the end of the white minority government and ruling state power in South Africa.

That government and state have been the key to guaranteeing massive profits to U.S. investors at the expense of the Black majority.

Only with such a repressive government and state can South Africa continue to play the role of an imperialist cop against liberation struggles in southern Africa.

That is why Reagan's sharpest criticism is reserved not for racist murderers like Botha, but for the Black masses who fight back against the government's violence. "The opponents of apartheid, using terrorism and violence, will bring not freedom and salvation," Reagan said in his statement announcing the executive order, "but greater suffering and more opportunities for expanded Soviet influence within South Africa and in the entire region."

The minimal sanctions imposed by the U.S. government show that the fighters against apartheid — above all in South Africa, but here as well — are having a powerful impact. These initial concessions should inspire all opponents of apartheid in this country to step up the pressure.

Apartheid means slave labor laws for Blacks

The recent strike by South Africa's Black miners has focused attention on the conditions faced by Black workers under apartheid. Following is an excerpt from *South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt* by Ernest Harsch. This book is available for \$7.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, or any of the socialist bookstores and offices listed on page 16.

The regulation and control of South Africa's Black working class stands at the core of the apartheid system. The police and prisons, the pass laws, the labor bureaus, influx control, the Bantustans, the migratory labor system, segregated townships, even education — all are aimed, in one way or another, at ensuring that Blacks fulfill their assigned role as underpaid and superexploited laborers.

The extent of the ruling class's dependency on Black labor is evident from its own figures. As of 1977, there were more than 8 million Black workers in South Africa — 7 million Africans, 1 million Coloureds, and 221,000 Asians. Africans alone were about 70 percent of the entire work force; all together, Black workers comprised 81 percent. Black workers and

their families constitute the overwhelming majority of the Black population.

It was precisely to keep a firm rein on this powerful Black working class and to prevent it from translating its social weight into political power that the white rulers erected the most elaborate and extensive system of labor control in the world.

In the words of G.F. van L. Froneman, a Nationalist member of parliament, Africans "only come here to supply labor. They are only supplying a commodity, the commodity of labor... it is labor we are importing and not laborers as individuals."

To banish the specter of "laborers as individuals" settling permanently in the towns, demanding their rights, and acquiring a consciousness of their own strength as a class, the apartheid regime acted to greatly entrench and expand the migratory labor system. It sentenced millions of African workers to lives of constant insecurity, of enforced oscillation between the Bantustans and the "white" cities and farms.

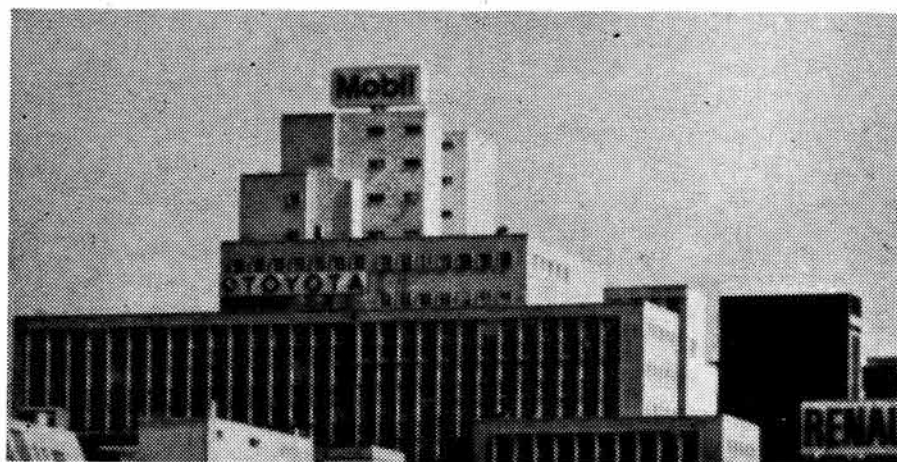
Of the many Africans expelled to the Bantustans, only those who were actually employed were allowed to return to the major cities, to take up their former jobs (or different jobs where they were more

needed) as rightless migrants. They were forced to leave their families behind in the resettlement camps in the reserves.

To provide a mechanism for the systematic recruitment and placement of migrant workers, Pretoria established labor bureaus in the Bantustans. All Africans living in the area of a tribal labor bureau have to register for work within one month of reaching the age of 15, becoming unemployed, or finishing full-time studies. They are then assigned to a specific category of occupation and must accept whatever job is given to them. A complete employment record of all workers registered with the bureaus is stored in a computer in Pretoria. In 1968 the labor bureau arrangement was extended to African townships in the urban areas as well.

When hired, the migrant worker must sign a labor contract that is good for no longer than one year (nine months for workers under 18 years of age). At the end of the contract period, the worker must return to his or her Bantustan for at least two weeks to await further employment. In this way, most migrants spend a good part of their adult lives away from their homes and families, with all the misery and corrosive

Continued on Page 16



Johannesburg skyline announces heavy presence of Mobil in South Africa. This U.S. oil company helps out apartheid's cops.

Foreign investment in S. Africa: a pillar of racist system

BY ERNEST HARSCH

"Foreign investment is a pillar of the whole system which maintains the virtual slavery of the Black workers of South Africa."

That assessment, by the predominantly Black South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), is widely shared by Black unionists, community activists, student leaders, religious figures, and other victims of apartheid.

Because of the role of foreign corporations in upholding the racist system of apartheid, Blacks in South Africa are demanding an end to all such investments (see accompanying article). They are also insisting that all trade, financial, military, cultural, sports, and other links with the white minority regime in Pretoria be broken.

There are many foreign corporations with important stakes in South Africa; but those from the United States play an especially crucial role. Behind them lies the whole weight of U.S. economic and political power.

Pretoria recognizes this. It gives U.S. collaboration pride of place in a partnership that denies Blacks their most elementary rights.

U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa goes back nearly a century, when Mobil Oil and General Electric set up operations there in the 1890s.

Since then, U.S. investment has kept pace with the expansion of South Africa's capitalist economy. It has been an integral part of that country's industrialization.

Today, there are nearly 300 U.S. firms with direct affiliates in South Africa, employing some 100,000 workers. These include most of the 50 largest U.S. companies. Billboards and signs for Colgate, Ford, Westinghouse, Xerox, General Motors, Singer, and other well-known U.S. trade names dot the skylines of most South African cities.

Altogether, U.S. companies now have \$2.3 billion in investments in South Africa, accounting for one-fifth of the total foreign investments. Only British companies hold a larger share.

When confronted with demands that they pull out of South Africa, these corpo-

rations' public relations officials argue that they are providing jobs to Black workers. But that is not why they set up operations there.

They did so to make profits — big profits. South Africa consistently brings foreign investors higher profit rates than almost any other country in the world. In the five years from 1979 through 1983, this averaged 16.2 percent for U.S. firms.

These high profit levels are possible because of the apartheid system. South African Blacks have had the vast bulk of their land taken away from them, and so have no other source of income but to work for white employers. Yet they cannot freely sell their labor. The denial to Blacks of virtually all democratic rights, the rigid restrictions on where they and their families can live, the reservation of certain jobs for "whites only," and the general conditions of poverty confronting Blacks — all help to keep Black wage levels extremely low and profits high.

Many U.S. companies claim they are seeking to improve Black wages and working conditions. But the facts speak differently.

Last year, Union Carbide's Vametco mining subsidiary paid its Black workers less than one-third of what it paid its white workers, or about \$2 an hour. Another Union Carbide subsidiary fired its entire Black work force and withdrew recognition of their union after a series of disputes sparked by a racist supervisor's physical attack on a Black worker.

Firestone, Chrysler, Coca-Cola, Standard Oil of Ohio, and other U.S. firms have also fired striking Black workers. Coca-Cola only recognized a Black union after several strikes in 1981, 1983, and 1984. United Technologies (which manufactures Otis elevators) has a closed-shop agreement with a racist all-white union; its Black workers can only belong to a segregated "parallel" union, controlled by the white one.

Ford, the largest U.S. employer in South Africa, claims to have one of the most

"progressive" policies of any U.S. company there. But it too has been hit by worker discontent. According to Tozamide Botha, the leader of one Ford strike, "you see from the demands of the workers that in fact Ford has done nothing."

Black workers in South Africa have made some gains in recent years. But these have been the result of their own struggles, against the resistance of the companies.

Besides following discriminatory wage and employment practices, U.S. management personnel often hold views that are indistinguishable from those of the racist rulers themselves.

The managing director of Ford told an interviewer in 1969, in response to a question about interracial contacts, "I didn't mix with them in the States; I don't mix with them here."

Chrysler's managing director at the time claimed that "the African doesn't want a trade union. He isn't used to democracy, he is used to an authoritarian hierarchical tribal structure. He accepts the white man as his guardian."

The managing director of International Harvester explicitly supported the apartheid regime's system of Bantustans, the impoverished rural reserves to which most Africans are assigned: "This Bantustan thing — I agree with it 100 percent. It is economically and politically sound. I am sympathetic to what the South African government is trying to do. I don't want hundreds of Africans running around in front of my house."

Not only are these investments profitable to the U.S. companies involved, but they are also economically and politically vital to the apartheid regime.

U.S. investments bring into South Africa large amounts of capital and access to the most advanced technology and manufacturing methods in the world, stimulating the expansion of industry.

In some strategic sectors, U.S. involvement is central. U.S. companies now control about half of the South African oil industry, 70 percent of the computer indus-

try, and 30 percent of the auto industry.

This industrial expansion — carried out on the backs of the oppressed Black majority — provides the racist regime the funds and economic base it needs to keep the apartheid system functioning.

U.S. banks have also been rushing to Pretoria's aid, providing it with about one-third of its international credits. As of 1984, they had nearly \$5 billion in outstanding loans to South Africa. But with the mounting Black mobilizations over the past year, these banks are getting worried about the regime's stability, and so are now more reluctant to make new loans.

U.S. trade is likewise vital to Pretoria. The United States is now South Africa's single largest trading partner. South Africa exports to the United States many valuable and strategic minerals (gold, diamonds, vanadium, nickel, manganese, etc.), while it imports manufactured goods, machinery, aircraft, and other goods.

Export markets are especially important to South Africa's ruling class. Because Black incomes are so low, the domestic market is very limited. South African capitalists must export to stay in business.

On top of the direct economic benefits that U.S. investments, loans, and trade provide to Pretoria, these ties also help cement Washington's political alliance with the racist apartheid regime. U.S. economic and corporate interests are not the only reasons for Washington's support to Pretoria, but they are important ones.

Breaking these U.S. links will be a big blow to the apartheid system, and a concrete act of solidarity with the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

At a conference held in June, the African National Congress, which is leading the liberation struggle, issued a "Call to the Peoples of the World."

"We accuse those Western countries and their transnational corporations which collaborate actively with the regime of complicity in the commission of the crime of apartheid," the ANC declared. "The time has come to cease all collaboration."

S. Africa Blacks say yes to sanctions

The demand for economic sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa is being raised increasingly by opponents of apartheid.

In their efforts to counter this demand, the Reagan administration and the many U.S. corporations with investments in South Africa fall back on a few arguments, repeated over and over again.

One of their favorites is the claim that South African Blacks themselves oppose sanctions. The big-business news media give prominent coverage to polls, conducted by South African agencies, purporting to prove this. After visiting South Africa for a few days, Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell insisted he did not meet one Black there who favored sanctions.

But what is the truth?

The London *Sunday Times* on August 25 published the results of an extensive opinion poll among urban Africans in South Africa. Its results show exactly the opposite of what Falwell and other apologists of apartheid claim. That is why this survey received scant, if any, coverage in the major U.S. media. The *New York Times*, for example, gave it a few paragraphs buried in the middle of an inside page.

In the poll, a local affiliate of the Gallup agency asked some 400 Africans, chosen at random from major cities around the country, "Do you think that other countries are

right or wrong to impose economic sanctions on South Africa unless South Africa agrees to get rid of the apartheid system?"

"Right," answered an overwhelming 77 percent. Some 21 percent thought that sanctions were wrong, and 2 percent expressed no opinion.

The *Sunday Times* explained, "Blacks

now support sanctions even though 48% of them expect that they would suffer personally if sanctions were imposed, against 46% who believed they would not suffer personally. Blacks who had jobs were just as keen on sanctions as those who were unemployed. Support for sanctions was highest among the young, reaching 84% in the 25-34 age group."

U.S. arms sales to apartheid regime

Officially, Washington supports the 1963 United Nations' mandatory sanctions on arms and all other military sales to South Africa. But in practice it has devised a multitude of ways to get around that arms embargo, including through the U.S. companies that have operations there.

IBM, Burroughs, and Sperry Rand have sold computers that are used by the South African army, police, and nuclear agencies, as well as by the boards that administer the racist pass law system.

U.S. components, unfinished subassemblies, and other technology have been used by South Africa's large armaments industry, among other things in the manufacture of Pretoria's new G5 155 millimeter howitzer.

Ford and General Motors provide vehicles to the South African police and mili-

tary, and Caltex, Mobil, and other U.S. oil companies sell the refined oil that keeps them running.

Mobil, trying to justify its oil sales to the South African repressive forces, went so far as to declare in a public statement, "The great bulk of the work of both police and military forces in every country, including South Africa, is for the benefit of all its inhabitants."

Officials of the Motorola Corp. have also strongly defended their sales of communications and data control systems to the South African police. They argued that they did not sell the South Africans their best equipment, only their *second* best. Their most sophisticated models, they explained, were reserved for the Chicago police.

Corporation	Investments (in millions)
Allegheny Int'l	*
Burroughs Corp.	\$150
Caltex Petroleum	334
Coca-Cola	60
Colgate-Palmolive	*
Firestone	*
Ford Motor	230
General Electric	120
General Motors	140
Goodyear	97
IBM	89
Johnson & Johnson	*
Kimberly-Clark	11
Minnesota Mining & Mfg.	26
Mobil Corp.	400
Norton Co.	26
Phelps Dodge	37
Phibro-Salomon	420
R.J. Reynolds	*
Standard Oil (Ohio)	10
Union Carbide	*
U.S. Gypsum	16
United Technologies	21

Sources: *Economic Notes*
American Committee on Africa
Pacific Northwest Research Center

Some of U.S. corporations with largest investments in South Africa. Asterisks indicate ones which refuse to report how much.

Nelson Mandela's Rivonia trial speech

Leader of the African Nat'l Congress explains aims of South Africa freedom struggle

Introduction

BY MALIK MIAH

"The struggle is my life. I will continue fighting for freedom until the end of my days."

Nelson Mandela, a central leader of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, wrote those words in a letter from the underground on June 26, 1961. Within three years Mandela was to be sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island. He, along with others, was convicted in the 1964 Rivonia trial of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the white minority government.

"Free Nelson Mandela!" is now a battlecry of the millions of oppressed South Africans fighting the racist white rulers. "He is the symbol of our struggle," Mzwakhe Kubheka, a high school student, told a reporter. "How many people would rather stay in jail than be free at the cost of their integrity?"

"For the struggle to go on," he said, "we do not need Mandela to be around. We, the youths, will do the job the way our leader would have wanted. And he knows that we are carrying on from where he left off 23 years ago."

A youth from Soweto said, "If the system does not free him, the people's revolution will set him free. And that day is not far away."

This militant determination is seen day after day in South Africa as workers, peasants, students, and others of the oppressed Black majority fight for their country.

It is also reflected in the widespread solidarity for this democratic struggle — here in the United States and around the world. People from all nationalities and class backgrounds have come out for an end to apartheid.

Nelson Mandela is a symbol of this revolutionary democratic struggle for good reason.

He was born in 1918, the eldest son of a Tembu chief, one of the royal family of the Transkei. He later moved to Johannesburg and set up a law practice with Oliver Tambo, the current president of the ANC. Mandela became active in the struggle of his people, joining the African National Congress in 1944. The ANC had been formed in 1912.

Mandela, along with Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, and other youth became leaders of the newly formed ANC Youth League. In late 1950, Mandela was elected national president of the Youth League.

The touchstone of the league was "direct action" against the racist regime.

After the establishment of the National Party government in 1948 with its policy of apartheid, the ANC adopted more militant tactics. The ANC worked with other groups and organized the Defiance Campaign against six selected apartheid laws in 1952. Mandela was appointed national volunteer-in-chief. For his role in this campaign, he was banned from all public gatherings and placed under constant police surveillance.

At the ANC's annual conference of December 1952, Mandela became deputy national president of the ANC under Chief Albert Lutuli, the ANC's President General. Rather than recognize the validity of the bans, Mandela exercised leadership behind the scenes.

In 1955 nearly 3,000 people, attending the Congress of the People, adopted the "Freedom Charter" as the policy of the liberation movement. The charter begins, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white."

A year later, 1956, Mandela was among 156 people — including Albert Lutuli, Oliver Tambo, and ANC Secretary General Walter Sisulu — arrested for treason. The ensuing four-and-one-half-year trial ended in acquittal in 1960.

Nineteen sixty was the year of the infamous Sharpeville massacre. The racist regime killed 69 people and wounded 176. It declared a "state of emergency" and the police and army rounded up 20,000 people. The ANC and other groups were outlawed by the government.

In 1961 South Africa's rulers declared the country a "republic," but only for whites.

In response to that decision an All-In African Conference was held at Pietermaritzburg where Mandela unex-

pectedly appeared to deliver the main speech. He called for the establishment of a new union of all South Africans, not a white republic.

The government immediately sought the arrest of Mandela and other leaders. For the next 17 months Mandela went underground and earned the nickname "the Black Pimpernel."

Percy Qoboza, a prominent Black editor today, recalls: "He would disappear and then turn up, somewhere, at a public telephone, and call in with a statement. Of course the police would trace the call, but by that time, he was long gone. We had our own pimpernel."

In November 1961 Mandela and others helped to found Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), an armed organization of the ANC.

Mandela was finally caught in August 1962 through the work of an informer. He was charged with inciting Africans to strike in 1961 and with leaving the country without valid travel documents. (Mandela had attended the Pan-African Conference in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in early 1962. He also traveled throughout Africa and went to London to gain support for the Black majority's freedom struggle.)

He was sentenced to five years' hard labor, and spent 23 of 24 hours in solitary confinement.

It was while serving this sentence that Mandela and other ANC leaders were charged with conspiracy to overthrow the white government. The ANC underground leaders had been arrested on June 11, 1963.

Mandela opened the defense case on April 20, 1964. In that opening statement Mandela went over his own political history and outlined the perspectives of the ANC.

The *International Socialist Review* is reprinting major excerpts from Mandela's opening statement. Subheads are by the *International Socialist Review*. The full text is available in a number of books by or about Nelson Mandela, including, for instance, his *The Struggle Is My Life*.

Nelson Mandela

I am the First Accused.

I hold a Bachelor's Degree in Arts and practised as an attorney in Johannesburg for a number of years in partnership with Oliver Tambo. I am a convicted prisoner serving five years for leaving the country without a permit and for inciting people to go on strike at the end of May 1961.

At the outset, I want to say that the suggestion made by the State in its opening that the struggle in South Africa is under the influence of foreigners or communists is wholly incorrect. I have done whatever I did, both as an individual and as a leader of my people, because of my experience in South Africa and my own proudly felt African background, and not because of what any outsider might have said.

In my youth in the Transkei I listened to the elders of my tribe telling stories of the old days. Amongst the tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defence of the fatherland. . . . I hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggle. This is what has motivated me in all that I have done in relation to the charges made against me in this case.

Question of violence

Having said this, I must deal immediately and at some length with the question of violence. Some of the things so far told to the Court are true and some are untrue. I do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation, and oppression of my people by the Whites.

I admit immediately that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkhonto we Sizwe, and that I played a

Continued on next page



Nelson Mandela, leader of ANC, in 1961. Sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 Rivonia trial, he has been held by racist regime for more than 20 years. At 67, he is symbol of uncompromising struggle for Black freedom and end to apartheid.

Continued from previous page

prominent role in its affairs until I was arrested in August 1962

I, and the others who started the organization, did so for two reasons. Firstly, we believed that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalize and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country which is not produced even by war.

Secondly, we felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of White supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the Government. We chose to defy the law. We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and then the Government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence.

But the violence which we chose to adopt was not terrorism. We who formed Umkhonto were all members of the African National Congress, and had behind us the ANC tradition of non-violence and negotiation as a means of solving political disputes. We believe that South Africa belonged to all the people who lived in it, and not to one group, be it Black or White

African National Congress

The African National Congress was formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people which had been seriously curtailed by the South Africa Act, and which were then being threatened by the Native Land Act. For 37 years — that is until 1949 — it adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle. It put forward demands and resolutions; it sent delegations to the Government in the belief that African grievances could be settled through peaceful discussion and that Africans could advance gradually to full political rights. But White Governments remained unmoved, and the rights of Africans became less instead of becoming greater. In the words of my leader, Chief Lutuli, who became President of the ANC in 1952, and who was later awarded the Nobel Peace Prize:

"Who will deny that 30 years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately, and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past 30 years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all."

Even after 1949, the ANC remained determined to avoid violence. At this time, however, there was a change from the strictly constitutional means of protest which had been employed in the past. The change was embodied in a decision which was taken to protest against apartheid legislation by peaceful, but unlawful, demonstrations against certain laws.

Pursuant to this policy the ANC launched the Defiance Campaign, in which I was placed in charge of volunteers. This campaign was based on the principles of passive resistance. More than 8,500 people defied apartheid laws and went to jail. Yet there was not a single instance of violence in the course of this campaign on the part of any defier. I and 19 colleagues were convicted for the role which we played in organizing the campaign, but our sentences were suspended mainly because the Judge found that discipline and non-violence had been stressed throughout.

This was the time when the volunteer section of the ANC was established, and when the word "Amadelakufa" [those who dedicate their lives to struggle] was first used: this was the time when the volunteers were asked to take a pledge to uphold certain principles. Evidence dealing with volunteers and their pledges has been introduced into this case, but completely out of context. The volunteers were not, and are not, the soldiers of a Black army pledged to fight a civil war against the Whites. They were, and are, the dedicated workers who are prepared to lead campaigns initiated by the ANC to distribute leaflets; to organize strikes, or do whatever the particular campaign required. They are called volunteers because they volunteer to face the penalties of imprisonment and whipping which are now prescribed by the legislature for such acts.

During the Defiance Campaign, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act were passed. These Statutes provided harsher penalties for offences committed by way of protests against laws. Despite this, the protests continued and the ANC adhered to its policy of non-violence. In 1956, 156 leading members of the Congress Alliance, including myself, were arrested on a charge of high treason and charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. The non-violent policy of the ANC was put in issue by the State, but when the Court gave judgement some five years later, it found that the ANC did not have a policy of violence. We were acquitted on



Sharpeville massacre March 21, 1960. This slaughter, and government outlawing of ANC, was a turning point in struggle for Black liberation. Mandela said, "It was precisely because the soil of South Africa is drenched with blood of innocent Africans that we felt it our duty to make preparations to use force in order to defend ourselves against force."

all counts, which included a count that the ANC sought to set up a communist state in place of the existing régime. The Government has always sought to label all its opponents as communists. This allegation has been repeated in the present case, but as I will show, the ANC is not, and never has been, a communist organization.

After Sharpeville

In 1960 there was the shooting at Sharpeville, which resulted in the proclamation of a state of emergency and the declaration of the ANC as an unlawful organization. My colleagues and I, after careful consideration, decided that we would not obey this decree. The African people were not part of the Government and did not make the laws by which they were governed. We believed in the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that "the will of the people shall be the basis of authority of the Government," and for us to accept the banning was equivalent to accepting the silencing of the Africans for all time. The ANC refused to dissolve, but instead went underground. We believed it was our duty to preserve this organization which had been built up with almost 50 years of unremitting toil. I have no doubt that no self-respecting White political organization would disband itself if declared illegal by a government in which it had no say

In 1960 the Government held a referendum which led to the establishment of the Republic. Africans, who constituted approximately 70 percent of the population of South Africa, were not entitled to vote, and were not even consulted about the proposed constitutional change. All of us were apprehensive of our future under the proposed White Republic, and a resolution was taken to hold an All-In African Conference to call for a National Convention, and to organize mass demonstrations on the eve of the unwanted Republic, if the Government failed to call the Convention.

The conference was attended by Africans of various political persuasions. I was the Secretary of the conference and undertook to be responsible for organizing the national stay-at-home which was subsequently called to coincide with the declaration of the Republic. As all strikes by Africans are illegal, the person organizing such a strike must avoid arrest. I was chosen to be this person, and consequently I had to leave my home and family and my practice and go into hiding to avoid arrest.

The stay-at-home, in accordance with ANC policy, was to be a peaceful demonstration. Careful instructions were given to organizers and members to avoid any recourse to violence. The Government's answer was to introduce new and harsher laws, to mobilize its armed forces, and to send saracens, armed vehicles, and soldiers into the townships in a massive show of force designed to intimidate the people. This was an indication that the Government had decided to rule by force alone, and this decision was a milestone on the road to Umkhonto

I must return to June 1961. What were we, the leaders of our people, to do? Were we to give in to the show of force and the implied threat against future action, or were we to fight it and, if so, how?

We had no doubt that we had to continue the fight. Anything else would have been abject surrender. Our problem was not whether to fight, but was how to con-

tinue the fight. We of the ANC had always stood for a non-racial democracy, and we shrank from any action which might drive the races further apart than they already were. But the hard facts were that 50 years of non-violence had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive legislation, and fewer and fewer rights. . . .

It must not be forgotten that by this time violence had, in fact, become a feature of the South African political scene. There had been violence in 1957 when the women of Zeerust were ordered to carry passes; there was violence in 1958 with the enforcement of cattle culling in Sekhukhuniland; there was violence in 1959 when the people of Cato Manor protested against pass raids; there was violence in 1960 when the Government attempted to impose Bantu Authorities in Pondoland. Thirty-nine Africans died in these disturbances. In 1961 there had been riots in Warmbaths, and all this time the Transkei had been a seething mass of unrest. Each disturbance pointed clearly to the inevitable growth among Africans of the belief that violence was the only way out — it showed that a Government which uses force to maintain its rule teaches the oppressed to use force to oppose it. . . .

Founding of Umkhonto

At the beginning of June 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the Government met our peaceful demands with force.

This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkhonto we Sizwe. We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the Government had left us with no other choice. In the Manifesto of Umkhonto published on 16 December 1961 we said:

"The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices — submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power in defence of our people, our future, and our freedom."

As far as the ANC was concerned, it formed a clear view which can be summarized as follows:

(a) It was a mass political organization with a political function to fulfil. Its members had joined on the express policy of non-violence.

(b) Because of all this, it could not and would not undertake violence. This must be stressed. One cannot turn such a body into the small, closely knit organization required for sabotage. Nor would this be politically correct, because it would result in members ceasing to carry out this essential activity; political propaganda and organization. Nor was it permissible to change the whole nature of the organization.

(c) On the other hand, in view of this situation I have described, the ANC was prepared to depart from its 50-year-old policy of non-violence to this extent that it would no longer disapprove of properly controlled violence. Hence members who undertook such activity



Demand that apartheid regime release Mandela has become worldwide outcry. Here his daughter, Zinzi Mandela (center), and other youth protest in South Africa.

would not be subject to disciplinary action by the ANC. I say 'properly controlled violence' because I made it clear that if I formed the organization I would at all times subject it to the political guidance of the ANC and would not undertake any different form of activity from that contemplated without the consent of the ANC. And I shall now tell the Court how that form of violence came to be determined.

As a result of this decision, Umkhonto was formed in November 1961. When we took this decision, and subsequently formulated our plans, the ANC heritage of non-violence and racial harmony was very much with us. We felt that the country was drifting towards a civil war in which Blacks and Whites would fight each other. We viewed the situation with alarm. Civil war could mean the destruction of what the ANC stood for; with civil war, racial peace would be more difficult than ever to achieve....

The avoidance of civil war had dominated our thinking for many years, but when we decided to adopt violence as part of our policy, we realized that we might one day have to face the prospect of such a war. This had to be taken into account in formulating our plans. We required a plan which was flexible and which permitted us to act in accordance with the needs of the times; above all, the plan had to be one which recognized civil war as the last resort, and left the decision on this question to the future. We did not want to be committed to civil war, but we wanted to be ready if it became inevitable....

Umkhonto had its first operation on 16 December 1961, when Government buildings in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, and Durban were attacked.

The Manifesto of Umkhonto was issued on the day that operations commenced. The response to our actions and Manifesto among the White population was characteristically violent. The Government threatened to take strong action, and called upon its supporters to stand firm and to ignore the demands of the Africans. The Whites failed to respond by suggesting change; they responded to our call by suggesting the laager [circling of the wagons]....

Indiscriminate slaughter

Already scores of Africans had died as a result of racial friction. In 1920 when the famous leader, Masabala, was held in Port Elizabeth jail, 24 of a group of Africans who had gathered to demand his release were killed by the police and White civilians. In 1921, more than 100 Africans died in the Bulhoek affair. In 1924 over 200 Africans were killed when the Administrator of South-West Africa led a force against a group which had rebelled against the imposition of dog tax. On 1 May 1950, 18 Africans died as a result of police shootings during the strike. On 21 March 1960, 69 unarmed Africans died at Sharpeville.

How many more Sharpevilles would there be in the history of our country? And how many more Sharpevilles could the country stand without violence and terror becoming the order of the day? And what would happen to our people when that stage was reached? In the long run we felt certain we must succeed, but at what cost to ourselves and the rest of the country? And if this happened, how could Black and White ever live together again in peace and harmony? These were the problems that faced us, and these were our decisions.

Experience convinced us that rebellion would offer the Government limitless opportunities for the indiscriminate slaughter of our people. But it was precisely because the soil of South Africa is already drenched with the blood of

innocent Africans that we felt it our duty to make preparations as a long-term undertaking to use force in order to defend ourselves against force....

All Whites undergo compulsory military training, but no such training was given to Africans. It was in our view essential to build up a nucleus of trained men who would be able to provide the leadership which would be required if guerrilla warfare started. We had to prepare for such a situation before it became too late to make proper preparations. It was also necessary to build up a nucleus of men trained in civil administration and other professions, so that Africans would be equipped to participate in the government of this country as soon as they were allowed to do so.

At this stage it was decided that I should attend the Conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement for Central, East, and Southern Africa, which was to be held early in 1962 in Addis Ababa, and, because of our need for preparation, it was also decided that, after the conference, I would undertake a tour of the African States with a view to obtaining facilities for the training of soldiers, and that I would also solicit scholarships for the higher education of matriculated Africans. Training in both fields would be necessary, even if changes came about by peaceful means. Administrators would be necessary who would be willing and able to administer a non-racial State and so would men be necessary to control the army and police force of such a State.

It was on this note that I left South Africa to proceed to Addis Ababa as a delegate of the ANC. My tour was a success....

Military training

I started to make a study of the art of war and revolution and, whilst abroad, underwent a course in military training. If there was to be guerrilla warfare, I wanted to be able to stand and fight with my people and to share the hazards of war with them. Notes of lectures which I received in Algeria are... produced in evidence. Summaries of books on guerrilla warfare and military strategy have also been produced. I have already admitted that these documents are in my writing, and I acknowledge that I made these studies to equip myself for the role which I might have to play if the struggle drifted into guerrilla warfare. I approached this question as every African Nationalist should do. I was completely objective.

I also made arrangements for our recruits to undergo military training. But here it was impossible to organize any scheme without the cooperation of the ANC offices in Africa. I consequently obtained the permission of the ANC in South Africa to do this. To this extent then there was a departure from the original decision of the ANC, but it applied outside South Africa only.

I returned to South Africa and reported to my colleagues on the results of my trip....

I wish to turn now to certain general allegations made in this case by the State.

One of the chief allegations in the indictment is that the ANC was a party to a general conspiracy to commit sabotage. I have already explained why this is incorrect but how, externally, there was a departure from the original principle laid down by the ANC. There has, of course, been overlapping of functions internally as well, because there is a difference between a resolution adopted in the atmosphere of a committee room and the concrete difficulties that arise in the field of practical activity.

At a later stage the position was further affected by bannings and house arrests, and by persons leaving the country to take up political work abroad. This led to individuals having to do work in different capacities. But though this may have blurred the distinction between Umkhonto and the ANC, it by no means abolished that distinction. Great care was taken to keep the activities of the two organizations in South Africa distinct. The ANC remained a mass political body of Africans only carrying on the type of political work they had conducted prior to 1961. Umkhonto remained a small organization recruiting its members from different races and organizations and trying to achieve its own particular object. The fact that members of Umkhonto were recruited from the ANC, and the fact that persons served both organizations, like Solomon Mbanjwa, did not, in our view, change the nature of the ANC or give it a policy of violence. This overlapping of officers, however, was more the exception than the rule....

Another of the allegations in the indictment is that Rivonia was the headquarters of Umkhonto. This is not true of the time when I was there. I was told, of course, and knew that certain of the activities of the Communist Party were carried on there. But this is no reason (as I shall presently explain) why I should not use the place....

ANC and Communist Party

Another of the allegations made by the State is that the aims and objects of the ANC and the Communist Party are the same. I wish to deal with this and with my own political position, because I must assume that the State may try to argue from certain Exhibits that I tried to introduce Marxism into the ANC. The allegation as to the ANC is false. This is an old allegation which was dis-

proved at the Treason Trial and which has again reared its head. But since the allegation has been made again, I shall deal with it as well as with the relationship between the ANC and the Communist Party and Umkhonto and that party.

The ideological creed of the ANC is, and always has been, the creed of African Nationalism. It is not the concept of African Nationalism expressed in the cry, 'Drive the White man into the sea.' The African Nationalism for which the ANC stands is the concept of freedom and fulfillment for the African people in their own land. The most important political document ever adopted by the ANC is the "Freedom Charter." It is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state. It calls for redistribution, but not nationalization, of land; it provides for nationalization of mines, banks, and monopoly industry, because big monopolies are owned by one race only, and without such nationalization racial domination would be perpetuated despite the spread of political power. It would be a hollow gesture to repeal the Gold Law prohibitions against Africans when all gold mines are owned by European companies. In this respect the ANC's policy corresponds with the old policy of the present Nationalist Party which, for many years, had as part of its programme the nationalization of the gold mines which, at that time, were controlled by foreign capital. Under the Freedom Charter, nationalization would take place in an economy based on private enterprise. The realization of the Freedom Charter would open up fresh fields for a prosperous African population of all classes, including the middle class. The ANC has never at any period of its history advocated a revolutionary change in the economic structure of the country, nor has it, to the best of my recollection, ever condemned capitalist society.

As far as the Communist Party is concerned, and if I understand its policy correctly, it stands for the establishment of a State based on the principles of Marxism. Although it is prepared to work for the Freedom Charter, as a short-term solution to the problems created by White supremacy, it regards the Freedom Charter as the beginning, and not the end, of its programme.

The ANC, unlike the Communist Party, admitted Africans only as members. Its chief goal was, and is, for the African people to win unity and full political rights. The Communist Party's main aim, on the other hand, was to remove the capitalists and to replace them with a working-class government. The Communist Party sought to emphasize class distinctions whilst the ANC seeks to harmonize them. This is a vital distinction.

It is true that there has often been close cooperation between the ANC and the Communist Party. But cooperation is merely proof of a common goal — in this case the removal of White supremacy — and is not proof of a complete community of interests....

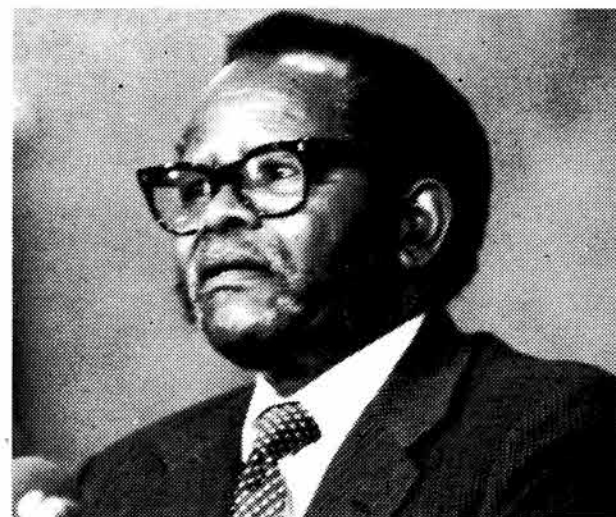
Shortly after Umkhonto was constituted, I was informed by some of its members that the Communist Party would support Umkhonto, and this then occurred. At a later stage the support was made openly.

I believe that communists have always played an active role in the fight by colonial countries for their freedom, because the short-term objects of communism would always correspond with the long-term objects of freedom movements. Thus communists have played an important role in the freedom movements fought in countries such as Malaya, Algeria, and Indonesia, yet none of these States today are communist countries....

This pattern of cooperation between communists and non-communists has been repeated in the National Liberation Movement of South Africa. Prior to the banning of the Communist Party, joint campaigns involving the Communist Party and the Congress movements were accepted practice. African communists could, and did, become members of the ANC, and some served on the National, Provincial, and local committees.

I joined the ANC in 1944, and in my younger days I held the view that the policy of admitting communists to

Continued on next page



Oliver Tambo, president of ANC, was close collaborator of Mandela's in massive Black protests in 1950s and early '60s. Shown here at recent Harlem rally.

Continued from previous page

the ANC, and the close cooperation which existed at times on specific issues between the ANC and the Communist Party, would lead to a watering down of the concept of African Nationalism. At that stage I was a member of the African National Congress Youth League, and was one of a group which moved for the expulsion of communists from the ANC. This proposal was heavily defeated. Amongst those who voted against the proposal were some of the most conservative sections of African political opinion. They defended the policy on the ground that from its inception the ANC was formed and built up, not as a political party with one school of political thought, but as a Parliament of the African people, accommodating people of various political convictions, all united by the common goal of national liberation. I was eventually won over to this point of view and I have upheld it ever since.

It is perhaps difficult for White South Africans, with an ingrained prejudice against communism, to understand why experienced African politicians so readily accept communists as their friends. But to us the reason is obvious. Theoretical differences amongst those fighting against oppression is a luxury we cannot afford at this stage. What is more, for many decades communists were the only political group in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals; who were prepared to eat with us; talk with us, live with us, and work with us. They were the only political group which was prepared to work with the Africans for the attainment of political rights and a stake in society.

Because of this, there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with communism. They are supported in this belief by a legislature which brands all exponents of democratic government and African freedom as communists and bans many of them (who are communists) under the Suppression of Communism Act. Although I have never been a member of the Communist Party, I myself have been named under that pernicious Act because of the role I played in the Defiance Campaign. I have also been banned and imprisoned under that Act.

It is not only in internal politics that we count communists as amongst those who support our cause. In the international field, communist countries have always come to our aid. In the United Nations and other Councils of the world the communist bloc has supported the Afro-Asian struggle against colonialism and often seems to be more sympathetic to our plight than some of the Western powers. Although there is a universal condemnation of apartheid, the communist bloc speaks out against it with a louder voice than most of the White world. In these circumstances, it would take a brash young politician, such as I was in 1949, to proclaim that the Communists are our enemies.

Political beliefs

I turn now to my own position. I have denied that I am a communist, and I think that in the circumstances I am obliged to state exactly what my political beliefs are.

I have always regarded myself, in the first place, as an African patriot.

Today I am attracted by the idea of a classless society, an attraction which springs in part from Marxist reading and, in part, from my admiration of the structure and organization of early African societies in this country. The laïd, then the main means of production, belonged to the tribe. There were no rich or poor and there was no exploitation. . . .

The basic task at the present moment is the removal of race discrimination and the attainment of democratic rights on the basis of the Freedom Charter. In so far as that Party furthers this task, I welcome its assistance. I realize that it is one of the means by which people of all races can be drawn into our struggle. . . .

The Magna Carta, the Petition of Rights, and the Bill of Rights are documents which are held in veneration by democrats throughout the world. . . .

I have been influenced in my thinking by both West and East. All this has led me to feel that in my search for a political formula, I should be absolutely impartial and objective. I should tie myself to no particular system of society other than of socialism. I must leave myself free to borrow the best from the West and from the East. . . .

Furthering struggle for freedom

As I understand the State case, and in particular the evidence of "Mr X," the suggestion is that Umkhonto was the inspiration of the Communist Party which sought by playing upon imaginary grievances to enrol the African people into an army which ostensibly was to fight for African freedom, but in reality was fighting for a communist state. Nothing could be further from the truth. In fact the suggestion is preposterous. Umkhonto was formed by Africans to further their struggle for freedom in their own land. Communists and others supported the movement, and we only wish that more sections of the community would join us.

Our fight is against real, and not imaginary, hardships or, to use the language of the State Prosecutor, "so-called hardships." Basically, we fight against two features which are the hallmarks of African life in South Africa and which are entrenched by legislation which we seek to have repealed. These features are poverty and lack of human dignity, and we do not need communists or so-called "agitators" to teach us about these things.

South Africa is the richest country in Africa, and could be one of the richest countries in the world. But it is a land of extremes and remarkable contrasts. The Whites enjoy what may well be the highest standard of living in the world, whilst Africans live in poverty and misery. Forty percent of the Africans live in hopelessly overcrowded and, in some cases, drought-stricken Reserves, where soil erosion and the overworking of the soil makes it impossible for them to live properly off the land. Thirty percent are laborers, labor tenants, and squatters on White farms and work and live under conditions similar to those of the serfs of the Middle Ages. The other 30 percent live in towns where they have developed economic and social habits which bring them closer in many respects to White standards. Yet most Africans, even in this group, are impoverished by low incomes and high cost of living.

The highest-paid and the most prosperous section of urban African life is in Johannesburg. Yet their actual position is desperate.

Poverty goes hand in hand with malnutrition and disease. The incidence of malnutrition and deficiency diseases is very high amongst Africans. Tuberculosis, pellagra, kwashiorkor, gastroenteritis, and scurvy bring death and destruction of health. The incidence of infant mortality is one of the highest in the world.

The complaint of Africans, however, is not only that they are poor and the Whites are rich, but that the laws which are made by the Whites are designed to preserve this situation. There are two ways to break out of poverty. The first is by formal education, and the second is by the worker acquiring a greater skill at his work and thus higher wages. As far as Africans are concerned, both these avenues of advancement are deliberately curtailed by legislation.

The present Government has always sought to hamper Africans in their search for education. One of their early acts, after coming into power, was to stop subsidies for African school feeding. Many African children who attended schools depended on this supplement to their diet. This was a cruel act.

There is compulsory education for all White children at virtually no cost to their parents, be they rich or poor. Similar facilities are not provided for the African chil-

dren, though there are some who receive such assistance. African children, however, generally have to pay more for their schooling than Whites.

The other main obstacle to the economic advancement of the African is the industrial color-bar under which all the better jobs of industry are reserved for Whites only. The discrimination in the policy of successive South African Governments towards African workers is demonstrated by the so-called 'civilized labor policy' under which sheltered, unskilled Government jobs are found for those White workers who cannot make the grade in industry, at wages which far exceeded the earnings of the average African employee in industry.

The Government often answers its critics by saying that Africans in South Africa are economically better off than the inhabitants of the other countries in Africa. I do not know whether this statement is true and doubt whether any comparison can be made without having regard to the cost-of-living index in such countries. But even if it is true, as far as the African people are concerned it is irrelevant. Our complaint is not that we are poor by comparison with people in other countries, but that we are poor by comparison with the White people in our own country, and that we are prevented by legislation from altering this imbalance.

The lack of human dignity experienced by Africans is the direct result of the policy of White supremacy. White supremacy implies Black inferiority. Legislation designed to preserve White supremacy entrenches this notion. Menial tasks in South Africa are invariably performed by Africans. When anything has to be carried or cleaned the White man will look around for an African to do it for him, whether the African is employed by him or not. Because of this sort of attitude, Whites tend to regard Africans as a separate breed. They do not look upon them as people with families of their own; they do not realize that they have emotions — that they fall in love like White people do; that they want to be with their wives and children like White people want to be with theirs; that they want to earn enough money to support their families properly, to feed and clothe them and send them to school. And what "house-boy" or "garden-boy" or laborer can every hope to do this?

Pass laws, which to the Africans are among the most hated bits of legislation in South Africa, render any African liable to police surveillance at any time. I doubt whether there is a single African male in South Africa who has not at some stage had a brush with the police over his pass. Hundreds and thousands of Africans are thrown into jail each year under pass laws. Even worse than this is the fact that pass laws keep husband and wife apart and lead to the breakdown of family life. . . .

Aspirations of Africans

Africans want to be paid a living wage. Africans want to perform work which they are capable of doing, and not work which the Government declares them to be capable of. Africans want to be allowed to live where they obtain work, and not be endorsed out of an area because they were not born there. Africans want to be allowed to own land in places where they work, and not to be obliged to live in rented houses which they never call their own.

Africans want to be part of the general population, and not confined to living in their own ghettos. African men want to have their wives and children to live with them where they work, and not be forced in to an unnatural existence in men's hostels. African women want to be with their menfolk and not be left permanently widowed in the Reserves. Africans want to be allowed out after 11 o'clock at night and not to be confined to their rooms like little children. Africans want to be allowed to travel in their own country and to seek work where they want to and not where the Labor Bureau tells them to. Africans want a just share in the whole of South Africa; they want security and a stake in society.

Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the Whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be Africans. This makes the White man fear democracy.

But this fear cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all. It is not true that the enfranchisement of all will result in racial domination. Political division, based on color, is entirely artificial and, when it disappears, so will the domination of one color group by another. The ANC has spent half a century fighting against racialism. When it triumphs it will not change that policy.

This then is what the ANC is fighting. Their struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live.

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against White domination, and I have fought against Black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

SOUTH AFRICA WHITE RULE BLACK REVOLT



Ernest Harsch

South Africa White Rule/Black Revolt Ernest Harsch

This is the story of South Africa's Black majority — from Dutch colonialism to the apartheid regime; from the early Khoikhoi and San struggles to defend their lands, to the Soweto rebellions of 1976 and beyond.

This book examines the organizations and movements that have arisen in the struggle — the African National Congress; political, Black, and labor movements; and others.

Harsch traces the development of the racist system of apartheid — how the white rulers established a

state based on the class and national oppression of the Black majority; and how the industrialization of the country has given birth to a Black working class with the power to shake apartheid, and South African capitalism, to its foundations.

352 pages plus 16 pages of photographs; includes maps, bibliography, and index; \$7.95.

Pathfinder Press 410 West St., New York, NY 10014 (include \$.75 for postage and handling.)

Honduran soldiers terrorize refugee camp

BY MARGARET JAYKO

"The camp looked like a battlefield." That's how a relief official described one of the six Colomocagua camps for Salvadoran refugees after it was invaded by 80 Honduran army soldiers. The attack was carried out on August 29.

The camps are located in Honduras, six miles from its border with El Salvador.

Two-month-old Gloria Noemie Blanco was kicked to death by one soldier during the murderous assault.

Juan Pérez and Elías Vázquez, both four years old, were among the 13 refugees wounded by the soldiers' rifle fire, which lasted more than an hour.

Ten-year-old María del Carmen Salazar was also shot, as was Santiago Hernández, a 70-year-old deaf mute.

Another 25 refugees were beaten with rifle butts and kicked by soldiers. Santiago Gómez Sánchez had his face crushed after soldiers hit him several times with a rifle. Others were dragged across the ground by the hair. At least one refugee was cut with a knife.

Sixteen women were among those severely beaten.

A Honduran representative of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, which administers the camp, was kicked and threatened when he tried to stop the soldiers.

'It was a miracle' more weren't killed

Josefina Purgimon, a relief worker with the Caritas refugee agency, said she saw soldiers tying up refugees. Suddenly, the soldiers began firing automatic rifles. At no time did any refugees attack the soldiers. "It was a miracle," she said, that more refugees weren't killed in the raid.

Four relief officials who work in the camp said the soldiers entered shouting that the refugees were Salvadorans who did not belong in Honduras, and they should either leave or they would be killed.

The Honduran army claims that the soldiers were carrying out an "inspection." They supposedly entered the camp to arrest fighters from the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), the popular armed organization that is fighting against the Salvadoran dictatorship.

The army claims the soldiers were attacked by refugees and had to fight their way out. However, the only casualty the army suffered was one slightly wounded soldier. The army claims only one person

was killed — a man they said pulled a gun on them.

The army arrested 10 refugees it says are FMLN members who had snuck into the camp. However, Waldo Villalpanda, the senior UN representative in Honduras, said that the men captured by the army held refugee status guaranteed by UN identify cards issued to them by Honduran authorities. Most of those arrested had been refugees for at least two years, he testified.

On September 3 after the first news of the attack had appeared in the U.S. press, the army sealed off the camps, refusing to let journalists enter.

U.S. military personnel seen in area

Jann Sweeney, a relief worker associated with the East Bay Sanctuary Churches in San Francisco, said she saw a tall, blond man join the Honduran troops as they entered the camp. Other relief workers, as well as several refugees, said they too had seen a big, blond man in the camp.

In addition, two relief workers said they had met two men who did not appear to be Hondurans in the town of Colomocagua, a short distance from the camp, the week before the attack. One relief worker reported that one of the soldiers said "hello" to her in unaccented English.

The U.S. embassy, however, denies that any U.S. soldiers were in the town before or during the attack. Michael O'Brien, a U.S. embassy spokesperson, said the embassy "essentially supports" the Honduran army account of what happened, saying that Salvadoran rebels had provoked the events.



Colomocagua camp for Salvadoran refugees, scene of murderous attack by Honduran soldiers that left one infant dead and wounded 13 people.

The six camps in Colomocagua house more than 9,000 refugees who fled Salvadoran government repression in 1980-81.

Approximately 20 percent of El Salvador's population of 5 million people have become refugees in the last several years, as a result of the government's war against the workers and peasants. Tens of thousands have fled to neighboring Honduras. There is a growing campaign against

the refugees in Honduras, and the raid on Colomocagua is only one example of this.

The Salvadoran and Honduran governments, encouraged by Washington, are trying to move the refugees away from the border areas.

State Department 'non-paper'

The U.S. State Department issued a document on Feb. 19, 1985, titled "Non-Continued on Page 16"

Alabama frame-up ends in hung jury

BY KATY LARKINS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — The trial of James Colvin, the 30-year-old mayor of Union, Alabama, who is accused of voting fraud, ended with a hung jury here September 4. Colvin is the first of five people from Greene County, Alabama, to be tried by the Justice Department for illegal voting procedures. U.S. Attorney Frank Donaldson said he expects the government to try the case again in early November.

Supporters of the Greene County Five, as the defendants are known, attribute the

hung jury to its composition, which was mostly male, with ten whites and two Blacks. One of the Black jurors refused to convict Colvin after a day and a half of deliberation, leading U.S. District Judge Sam C. Pointer, Jr., to call a mistrial.

The trial for Greene County defendant Bobbie Nell Simpson is now under way here, and trials for Spiver Gordon and Frederick Daniels are slated to begin September 23 in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. The trial for the fifth defendant, Bessie Underwood, is due to begin in October.

Spiver Gordon, the most prominent of the Greene County Five, is president of the Greene County chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He is also an activist in the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, an organization that promotes cooperative farming in the South.

Colvin's trial was kicked off on August 24 by a day-long caravan of protesters that traveled through six counties in the majority Black region known as the Black Belt, where Colvin is from. The caravan ended up in Eutaw, Alabama, the seat of Greene County and home of Gordon, Daniels, and Underwood.

Several civil rights leaders addressed the hundred protesters who crowded into the Greene County courthouse to stay out of the pouring rain.

Among the speakers was Albert Turner, one of the Marion Three, who were recently acquitted of similar charges of voting fraud. "Not only was I on trial, but my wife was on trial, my house burned down, and I had three operations," he said, referring to events that occurred during his trial. "But we won. And as long as the Justice Department keeps coming at us, we'll keep fighting back."

Marie Foster, a veteran activist from Selma, said, "We have to fight for our own voting rights, but also the rights of our brothers in South Africa."

The government tried to convict Colvin on the grounds that he had asked citizens of Union, which has a population of 373, to sign absentee ballots for out-of-town relatives with their permission. The defense team, headed by State Senator Michael Figures of Mobile, called upon election experts in Alabama to testify that the laws on this procedure are unclear and contradictory.

In her testimony, Administrator of Elections Helen Moore said, "The law does not give specific information about all absentee voting procedures."

The defense attorneys also quoted Alabama Secretary of State Don Siegelman as saying the state election laws are "outdated, conflicting and they can serve as traps for uninformed citizens."

"And James Colvin can go to jail for this?" Figures asked the jury in closing arguments.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Bill Barnett closed the prosecution's arguments saying, "Do we tell him to 'Go ahead and keep doing it, big boy?' Or do we say, 'We have had enough of your ballot stuffing?'"

U.S. gov't seeks use of Saudi Arabian bases

BY GEORGE KAPLAN

The Saudi Arabian monarchy has reportedly agreed privately to allow U.S. military forces to use bases in that country in the event of "Soviet aggression" or "regional crises they cannot manage on their own."

The agreement was revealed in a government document that attempts to convince members of Congress to support U.S. arms sales to the Saudi Arabian and Jordanian monarchies. Any large-scale U.S. military operation in the Persian Gulf and Southeast Asia, it states, "will likely depend on Saudi cooperation and support."

The document talks a lot about preventing aggression and advancing peace in the

Middle East. It is actually about using U.S. weapons — and, if necessary, U.S. troops — to contain and roll back anti-imperialist struggles.

The document reiterates Washington's commitment to massively arming Israel, the main regional cop, assuring readers that the proposed arms sales will not alter the Israeli regime's military advantage. It notes that Israeli support will "be helpful in the event of U.S. intervention in the Eastern Mediterranean."

According to the September 5 *New York Times*, "The Saudis have been concerned for more than a year over the possibility of their being dragged into the five-year-old

Iran-Iraq war, State Department officials said, particularly by an attack from Iran."

In fact, the Saudi rulers have been involved in the war against Iran from the beginning. By giving billions of dollars to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, they helped make it possible for the Iraqi military to continue the bloodletting. Washington, too, has been covertly backing the Iraqi government since it invaded Iran in 1980.

The document presents Syria as an aggressive power because Syria has refused to accept Israeli occupation of part of its territory — the Golan Heights — and of a strip of southern Lebanon.

Washington views the Saudi monarchy, one of the most reactionary and backward in the Middle East, as a counter to governments like those in Syria and Iran that challenge imperialist policies. The Saudi regime guarantees billions in profits to U.S. oil companies and other corporations.

For several years Washington has pressed Saudi Arabia for permission to use its military bases. The Sultan of Oman has granted the U.S. military use of bases in that Persian Gulf country. But the Saudi regime hesitated. It feared such close identification with Washington.

The shift toward granting Washington's request — a shift which the Saudi rulers have not made public — indicates the monarchy's growing fear of "regional crises that they cannot manage on their own." In particular they fear a popular revolt inside Saudi Arabia itself.

As one Senate staff member put it, "Of course, if they are going down the tubes, they would want us to come in."

Kanak freedom fighter tours Miami

BY ERNEST MAILHOT

MIAMI — More than 45 people attended a forum here on the struggle against French colonialism on the Pacific island of New Caledonia. The featured speaker at the meeting, held in the Miami Haitian Activity Center September 4, was Susanna Ounei. Ounei is a central leader of the independence fight of the indigenous Kanak people of New Caledonia.

Ounei gave a historical overview of the colonialization of her homeland since 1853 and the upsurge in the struggle of the Kanak people in recent years.

Also speaking at the meeting was the Rev. Gerard Jean Juste, head of the Haitian Refugee Center and a central activist in the U.S. Haitian community. Jean Juste solidified with the independence movement in New Caledonia. He explained that this

struggle was an example for the people of Haiti who are today fighting neocolonialism. Jean Juste also pointed to the struggle in South Africa as an inspiration for all fighters against oppression throughout the world.

Participants in the meeting included activists from the Coalition for a Free South Africa, Central America solidarity activists, several people from the Haitian community, local unionists, activists from the Filipino community, and others.

In her two-day visit to the Miami area, Susanna Ounei was featured on Chita Tande, a Haitian radio program. She was interviewed by the *Miami Times*, a major Black community newspaper in the area.

Ounei also had discussions with Jean Juste and other Haitian community leaders.

Is capitalism winning war against poverty?

BY HARRY RING

"I believe these numbers are further proof that the greatest enemy of poverty is the free enterprise system" — Ronald Reagan.

"American capitalism is the best machine ever devised for bringing people out of poverty" — White House communications director Patrick J. Buchanan.

What were the two communicators bragging about? An upturn in the capitalist business cycle last year succeeded in reducing the poverty rate by nine-tenths of one percent. It was the first reduction since 1978.

This proud accomplishment left 33.7 million people in the U.S. still impoverished.

And that's according to the government's very narrow definition of poverty — less than \$204 a week for a family of four; less than \$134 a week for a couple; and less than \$103 a week for a single person.

Reagan's bull to the contrary, the facts about poverty prove what a bankrupt system capitalism is and why it has to be abolished.

"Only" 33 million poor people in the richest country on earth. That's more poor people than there were in 1964 when the government's popgun war on poverty was declared.

And the poor are poorer today than they were then.

In 1968, the poorest fifth of the nation had 91 percent of the money needed, by official standards, for basic requirements. But by 1983 it had dropped down to 60 percent of basic needs.

Black people, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other Latinos are the major victims of poverty, with women especially hard hit.

Of all impoverished adults, 60 percent are women.

A majority of families headed by Black women are living in poverty — 51.7 percent.

Among families headed by Latinas, the situation is even worse, 53.4 percent in poverty.

Nor is poverty limited to the unemployed. In 1983, there were 11 million fulltime, year-round workers earning under \$10,000. Of these, nearly 4.5 million were paid less than \$6,700.

The cruelest suffering is reserved for the children.

In July, the *Los Angeles Times* devoted four major articles to "America and Its Poor."

About children, the paper wrote: "The *Times* found child poverty a growing, pervasive problem from Iowa's failed family farms to Houston's once-affluent suburbs, from Boston's crowded soup kitchens to Youngstown's depressed blue-collar neighborhoods, from Mississippi shanties to hungry and homeless youngsters in California's wealthy Orange County."

A California service agency director was quoted:

"We're seeing a lot more hungry kids now. We can tell they're hungry when they tear into a bag of food and grab a crust of bread."

Not surprisingly in such a racist society as this one, nonwhite children are the hardest hit by far.

Despite Reagan's proud nine-tenths of a percent drop in the poverty rate, the figure for Blacks under 18 remained unchanged from 1983 to 1984. For Latinos under 18, the figure went up.

And for Black children under six, an increase meant a majority of them — 51.1 percent — were living in poverty.

In the face of this persistent, massive poverty, all levels of government, led by Washington, have stubbornly pressed ahead in slashing aid to the poor.

Since 1981, three million children have

been cut from school lunch programs.

In that same time, every one of the 50 states has reduced health services for poor mothers and children.

Most states have eliminated or cut back health education and illness prevention programs, including immunizations, efforts to eliminate lead-based paints, and rat control.

Medicaid covers a half million fewer children today than it did in 1976 when there were one-third fewer impoverished children.

The president of the American Public Health Association, Dr. Victor Sidel, says, "If there is a desperate medical emergency, they can get care in the emergency room. But for immunizations, for normal medical or dental care, for preventive care, access is extremely limited or impossible."

Since the big federal cuts, nearly 500,000 families have been cut off the Aid to Dependent Children program. An additional 300,000 have had their checks cut by an average of \$150 to \$200 a month.

'We do have a strong Black voice'

Continued from Page 5

hey guys, we want you to do this, this, and this. The mere fact that these people could stand there for three hours and let their points of view be heard tells you something. A people who can do that are not a people that are oppressed."

She underscored the significance of the fact that participants in the meeting spoke freely in their own language, something they were unable to do under Somoza. And she noted the active role women played in the discussion, "another mark of change since the revolution has taken place."

Campbell predicts a debate over the autonomy statute in the National Assembly, which has representatives of other political parties besides the FSLN. "We'll have to let people know this project is legitimate, that it's a national project, a Nicaraguan project."

'They could have let us sink'

"To get autonomy in six years is quite rapid," Campbell says. She feels that the effort made to first bring social and economic gains to the Coast, and to raise political consciousness there, has been important. Particularly key was the government's literacy drive in the early years of the revolution, "to get all these people reading and writing and understanding what was going on."

"It would have been so easy in 1981 to say, okay, you guys have autonomy — without education, without health, without welfare, without political knowledge, without knowledge of what a government is supposed to be. They could have just given it to us and let us sink."

"You could have had all the anthropologists, sociologists, and agencies just write a document and have them give it to us. But it would have meant nothing to the people."

"What good is autonomy when people cannot read and write?" she asks. "What good is autonomy when you have sick babies dying of diarrhea on a daily basis? What good is autonomy if your people do not even know the basic principle of what a government is? Or what we should be fighting for or how to administer the economy? What would autonomy mean if our women were still in the kitchen, just having babies?"

People on the Atlantic Coast "are getting convinced" of the autonomy proposal, she says. The government "had to first break down that wall of lack of confidence that was built up all these years. But they're doing it."

And as a result, "the people are beginning to participate and to take hold of this project and make it their project."

The reality of Nicaragua and its Atlantic



A Los Angeles slum. Children make up a large part of 33.7 percent of the population that government recognizes as living in poverty in United States.

About a million people have been disqualified for food stamps, and those still receiving them are getting less.

While these cuts and more were sparked by the Reagan White House, the record confirms that it's been a bipartisan war against the poor. Democrats and Republicans have joined together to make the cuts possible.

For the 1985 budget, Reagan proposed cuts in 14 social programs. Congress — in-

cluding the Democrat-controlled House — cut 13 of the 14.

True, the cuts were not of the size Reagan requested. But demanding twice whatever you want is an old employer game.

In addition to cutbacks in Social Security, these congressional cuts have been made in programs ranging from unemployment compensation to nutrition for children.

Coast needs to be spread around the world and especially in the United States, Campbell says. "I really believe there is a role you can play here. Point out the aggression against us — our boats being attacked; civilians being murdered; the fact that we have beautiful airstrips but we don't have the airplanes because of the U.S. embargo and we can't buy parts; the fact that we invested a large amount of money to build a road joining the central and northern part of the country and it cannot be used now because the *contras* are there killing people."

"Point out that we *do* have a strong Black voice in this country and all Black

people should take heed. Tell them that you have seen Black people speaking out for the first time in this country. That we have a Black ambassador in Mozambique. That we have Black representatives. That we have a whole group of Black leaders throughout Yelaya. That this could never be if we had not had a liberation of the entire country."

These facts are hidden from Blacks in the United States, Campbell points out. To overcome this gap, "we would like to have an interchange of culture, education, and other things to let Blacks know this is a place where they can come and see Black people come alive. That there is hope."

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

'PM' carries 'Freedom Charter'

"We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

"That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

"That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

"That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

"That only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief."

These are the opening sentences of the "Freedom Charter," a document drafted in 1955 that has become a manifesto of the freedom struggle of the Black masses in South Africa.

The new issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* is devoted mainly to the struggle in South Africa, and reproduces the "Freedom Charter" in its entirety in Spanish.

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every two weeks brings you the truth about the struggles of



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N.C. textile workers to vote on union

BY RICH GORDON

KANNAPOLIS, N.C. — More than 10,000 textile workers in Cabarrus and Rowan counties in North Carolina will vote in their mills October 9-10 on whether they will be represented by a union, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). This will be one of the largest union representation elections in this area in recent years.

The workers are employed by Cannon Mills Inc., the giant sheet and towel maker, based here in Kannapolis.

After more than a year of organizing, ACTWU filed for a union election with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) on August 6. The NLRB certified that the union had more than the required signatures from 30 percent of the Cannon workers and set the election date.

An election between ACTWU and Cannon was held in 1974 when workers voted against union representation 8,473 to 6,801.

But a lot has changed since 1974. Textile workers have been hit hard by layoffs and mill shutdowns. Cannon workers have seen their ranks cut by several thousand in the last few years. Unemployment in Cabarrus county is 18 percent, the highest in the state.

Many Cannon workers blame their worsening situation on the profit greed of Los Angeles capitalist, David Murdock who bought Cannon in 1982 for \$413 million.

After he bought Cannon, Murdock laid off 2,000 workers and announced a modernization plan.

Since then Cannon workers have seen more layoffs, rate cuts, stretchouts (greater workloads for less pay and shorter hours), and continued dusty, noisy, and hot working conditions.

Murdock claims he is losing money, that he might sell the company, and that he even had to spend \$12 million "of his own money" on Cannon in 1985.

But Cannon workers are not sympathetic to Murdock who also owns, among other things, Castle and Cooke, the big fruit company.

Murdock's Kannapolis estate includes a golf course, tennis courts, a swimming pool and a fully stocked lake alongside a \$1.5 million home and conference center.

Murdock told the Salisbury Post in 1982, "We considered opening the lake to the employees, but all of a sudden we'd have no fish and a messy place."

He also told Fortune magazine in 1979 that "It's useless to give money to the poor because they only lose it."

Murdock's fortune has been made on the backs of workers like Evelyn Wingler, a spinner at Cannon Mills, who told the Winston-Salem Journal: "Murdock took everything away he could take. He sold the houses, and they've increased the workload twice as much. Now you can't make a living. They said we'd have to work together to get the company on its feet, but they didn't say they were going to make slaves out of us."

The Cannon family, the original owners

of Cannon, founded Kannapolis as a company town that they ran like the mills — from the top down.

The company owned the housing, water and power. Cannon was able to pay workers lower wages because it had low-cost housing. Murdock has been selling off the mill houses that some Cannon workers have come to see as one of the benefits they had before Murdock took over.

Union organizers are optimistic about the chances for victory at Cannon.

A victory for the union would be seen as a victory for both the Cannon workers and

for workers all over the Carolinas, especially textile workers.

The Carolinas are among the least unionized states in the country and are the heart of the textile industry. North Carolina has only 49,000 union workers, 5.9 percent of the workers in the state. More than 600,000 textile workers in the South are not covered by union contracts.

The company knows that there are big stakes in the upcoming election. Murdock has hired a high-priced Atlanta law firm that specializes in anti-union campaigns. They have created the Anti-Union Com-

mittee to tell workers that the union is nothing but outsiders that want to collect high dues, call strikes, and take away our individual freedom.

Murdock said in a statement distributed to Cannon workers that he is pleased the election will let the employees tell the union to "go away and leave us alone." He said, "I am strongly opposed to this union coming in because they have nothing worthwhile to offer you."

But it will be the mill workers themselves who will make that decision on October 9 and 10.

FBI attacks Puerto Rican patriots

Continued from front page

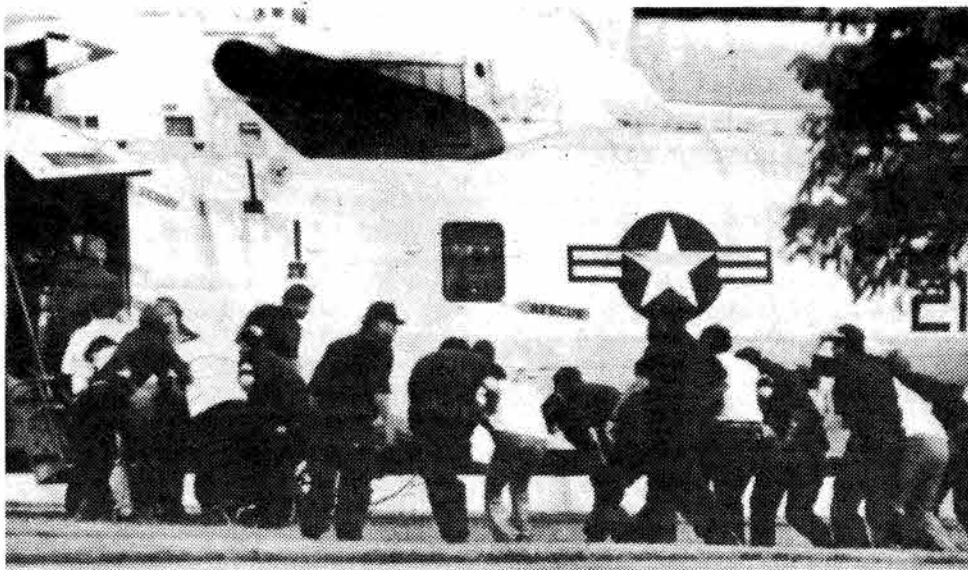
In the course of the paramilitary operation, the FBI raided the offices of *Pensamiento Crítico*, a proindependence magazine, arresting one of its editors. In an attempt to close down the publication, the FBI took its equipment and printing presses. The Puerto Rican Socialist Party, however, offered the offices and equipment of its newspaper *Claridad* to the magazine's staff so that they could continue publishing.

The FBI also raided the homes of lawyers, artists, and other prominent people on the island. According to Vanessa Ramos of the International Information Office for Independence for Puerto Rico, as of September 5, many of these people were "still incommunicado and we don't even know which jail they're in." During these raids, the FBI took the records of the Legal Services Union. The FBI later announced that it would be continuing its "investigations" on the island.

After their arrest, the 11 fighters appeared under heavy guard in U.S. Federal Court in San Juan, Puerto Rico. The proceedings, conducted in English, led to their extradition from the island to stand trial in Hartford, Connecticut. The 11 were taken in three Navy helicopters from the Federal Court building to the U.S. military base, Roosevelt Roads, in Ceiba, Puerto Rico. From there they were transported to an undisclosed location in the northeast United States. It was only days later that their attorneys were informed of their whereabouts in the United States.

The raids served to demonstrate once again the colonial status of Puerto Rico. The FBI entered the island and carried out these armed raids without informing any member of the Puerto Rican government. After Puerto Rico's governor, Rafael Hernández Colón, complained that he had not been informed, the FBI told the press that "when we have an order from a federal magistrate to raid a house we never consult with the governor."

In an attempt to diffuse the anger of the Puerto Rican people, the FBI displayed arms it claims were captured in the raids. They alleged that the arms, all U.S. made, had been given to these activists by the



Puerto Rican independence fighters being loaded onto U.S. Navy helicopter

Cuban government. The FBI also claims that Victor Gerena, one of the activists allegedly involved in the robbery, is currently living in Cuba.

These charges are a continuation of the U.S. government's 26-year campaign against the Cuban people and their government. It is an attempt to portray these proindependence activists as Cuban surrogates rather than defenders of their homeland.

The FBI's attempt to isolate these activists and intimidate supporters of their democratic rights has so far failed. Despite armed FBI agents on the roof and in the doorways of the Federal Building in San Juan, hundreds of protesters chanting "we are patriots not terrorists" picketed outside that building against the persecution of the independence movement.

In her speech to the demonstrators, Rita Zengotita from the Unified Committee Against Repression (CUCRE) reminded the crowd of Puerto Rico's strategic military position for U.S. imperialism. "The action by the repressive agencies of the United States..." she said, "is also part of its [the U.S. government's] continuing threats of invasion against the people of Central America and the Caribbean."

Similar protests were also held on Mon-

day, September 2, and Tuesday, September 3.

A coalition of various trade unions and religious and professional organizations — including the Puerto Rican Institute for Civil Rights, the Association of University Professors, the Teamsters union, the Federation of Teachers, the National Union of Health Workers, and the Independent Union of Airport Workers — held a press conference to protest this attack. In their joint statement these groups characterized the FBI's action as "a series of violent and terrorist actions" carried out against "men and women for the crime of fighting for the independence of their country."

On September 3, the 11 activists were arraigned in Hartford. The court proceedings were marked by extraordinary security measures. These included sharpshooters patrolling the roof of the courthouse and dogs walking the ground to sniff for bombs. The activists were brought into court in chains.

Attorney William Kunstler, who is representing the activists, criticized these security measures as "an attempt to color this case, to make the people of Connecticut think they are a bunch of dangerous animals."

Supporters of the activists demonstrated outside the courthouse during the arraignment hearing. A second demonstration has been called in Hartford September 13.

In New York City, more than 12 Puerto Rican and other organizations in solidarity with Puerto Rican independence formed the Committee Against Repression of Independentistas. The committee organized a picket line of 200 people outside the FBI building here September 6.

The New York committee is also organizing a car caravan from East 116 Street in El Barrio (East Harlem) to Hartford September 14.

"My campaign calls on working people and other supporters of civil liberties in the United States to support the democratic rights of these activists," González said. "This raid represents a threat to the political rights not only of fighters for Puerto Rican independence but for all opponents of U.S. government policy — from fighters against U.S. support for the racist white minority regime in South Africa, to opponents of the U.S. war in Central America, to unionists on strike, and farmers fighting foreclosure of their farms."

"We all have a stake in defending these latest victims of the U.S. government's repression."

Troy unions sign Nicaragua appeal

BY JIM CALLAHAN
AND LARRY LANE

ALBANY, N.Y. — The Troy, New York, Area Labor Council has added its name to an "Appeal to U.S. Trade Unionists" urging participation in international trade union solidarity with Nicaragua.

The appeal stems from a call for solidarity to trade unionists around the world by the general secretary of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), Nicaragua's biggest union federation.

Fifteen U.S. trade union officials mailed out copies of the CST call in English and Spanish to a broad list of unions, union officials, and solidarity activists. The fifteen also signed an "Appeal to U.S. Trade Unionists" urging participation in the campaign.

The 15, who signed as individuals, included officials of American Federation of Teachers Local 3882; Nebraska United Transportation Union; Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Pacific Northwest Joint Board; United Steelworkers of America Local 2431; United Farm Workers; Virginia State

Council, International Federation of State, County and Municipal Workers Local 544; and others.

Discussion of adding the Troy Area Labor Council's name to this appeal was introduced by Art Fleishner, Troy council president and member of Service Employees International Union, Local 200.

The motion to add the Troy Area Labor Council to the appeal was made by Judy Ferraro, council treasurer and member of the New York State United Teachers (NYSUT). Bob Redlo, council vice-president and member of ACTWU, seconded the motion.

In response to a question by a council delegate, "How is this a concern of ours?" Art Fleishner responded: "There are people at this council meeting from both the steel and textile unions. Both of these industries initially ran away to the South, now they've gone overseas. We have a duty to support workers in other countries trying to build their unions, to fight these same companies."

The motion to sign the appeal passed the June 19th council meeting unanimously.

The member unions of the Troy Area Labor Council are the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; Amalgamated Transit Union; Communication Workers of America; Graphic Communications International Union; Hotel, Motel, Restaurant and Bartenders Union; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; Laborers International Union of North America; New York State United Teachers; Service Employees International Union; Troy Musicians; United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; and the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union. Delegates and members of SEIU Local 200, NYSUT, UFCW Local 1, USWA Local 8247, Laborers Local 452, CWA Local 1116, and ACTWU were present at the council meeting.

A fund has been established for the solidarity campaign. Checks can be sent to: Nicaragua Solidarity Fund, c/o ACTWU, 975 SE Sandy Blvd., Room 108, Portland, Oregon 97214.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

March Against Apartheid. Sat., Sept. 28, 10:30 a.m. from Fulton County Stadium to Richard Russell Federal Building. Ausp: Atlanta Chapter NAACP. For more information call (404) 349-7496.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Independence Struggle in New Caledonia. Speaker: Susanna Ounei, leader of Kanak Socialist Liberation Front and founder of Kanak and Exploited Women In Struggle. Sun., Sept. 15, 3:30 p.m. Central United Methodist Church, 23 E Adams (at Woodward). Ausp: Detroit Chapter National Organization for Women, Detroit Guatemala Committee, Michigan Interfaith Committee on Central American Human Rights, Pan African Students Union, Young Socialist Alliance, Detroit Area Nuclear Weapons Freeze.

Free South Africa Movement Rally. Speaker: Thozamile Botha, administrative secretary, South Africa Congress of Trade Unions, former Ford worker. Fri., Sept. 20, 7 p.m., Hartford Memorial Baptist Church, 18700 James Couzens Highway. Ausp: Free South Africa Movement. For more information call (313) 496-2573 or 882-5838.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Support Meatpackers in Fight Against Hormel. Speaker: representative of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9. Sun., Sept. 15, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Farmers in Nicaragua: An Eyewitness Account. Speaker: Lisa Ahlberg, participant in recent North American Farm Alliance tour of Nic-

aragua, member of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Sept. 22, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

El Salvador: Duarte Wages Air War Against the People. An eyewitness report by Ellen Whitt of the St. Louis Latin America Solidarity Committee. Sun., Sept. 15, 7 p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 3109 S Grand, Room 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

South Africa Freedom Struggle. A film history: *Generations of Resistance*. Sun., Sept. 22, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, Room 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

We'll Never Go Back — the Struggle to Defend a Woman's Right to Choose Abortion. Panel discussion. Speakers: Lena Watts, chairperson, Reproductive Freedom Task Force, Essex County National Organization for Women; Paige Berry, member, Board of Directors, Right to Choose; Candace Wagner, member, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 13, 7:30 p.m.; dinner at 6:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2; dinner \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

Adapt or Die. An ABC-TV documentary showing the central role played by the new, Black trade unions in South Africa. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m.; dinner at 6:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation: \$2; dinner \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

How Can We Fight Against Washington's War in Central America? Speakers: Victor Caban, International Union of Electronic Workers Local 301; representative, Witness for Peace; Julia Stineberg, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 20, 8 p.m., 352 Central Ave., 2nd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (518) 434-3242.

Manhattan

Life and Democracy in Chile. An ecumenical service; plus video, slideshow, and panel of speakers. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Sept. 29, 2:30 p.m. Judson Memorial Church, 55 Washington Square. Ausp: Ad Hoc Coalition — Salvador Allende.

Solidarity Festival for El Salvador. Day-long festival of Latin American crafts, music, film, and dance. A benefit for Salvadoran refugees. Sat., Sept. 14, noon to 10 p.m. Cafeteria and auditorium of PS 41, W 11th Street between 6th and 7th avenues. Donation: \$1. Ausp: New York chapter of U.S. Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador and Casa El Salvador. For more information call (212) 926-5825 or 242-1040.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Adapt or Die. Video and discussion on importance of South African Black unions in the struggle against apartheid. Sun., Sept. 15, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

Crisis in Latin America: Cancel the Debt! Sun., Sept. 22, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

Pornography and Women's Rights. Sun., Sept. 29, 5 p.m. 2219 E Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cincinnati

South African Labor Movement Today. Speakers: Ove Aspoy, member, Socialist Workers Party and International Association of Machinists Lodge 912; Peter Oanes, member, Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Local 661. Sun., Sept. 15, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Toledo

Break U.S. Ties With Apartheid — Boycott Racist South Africa! Film showing: *South Africa Belongs to Us*. Speakers: Vernon Domingo, professor, BGSU Firelands Campus. Born and raised in South Africa, classified by the apartheid system as "Coloured"; representative, Black Student Union, Toledo University; Dennis Miller, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Sept. 15, 7 p.m. 1701 W Bancroft. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

Honduran soldiers attack camp

Continued from Page 13

paper on Refugee Policy on the Issue of Colomoncagua," which outlined its policy.

A selection from the document was printed by the Canadian Council for International Co-operation Mission Report. It said, "We share the objectives of the Honduran government for the return of Salvadoran refugees to El Salvador."

This has been vigorously opposed by the refugees and their supporters, who know that democracy and justice have not come to El Salvador and that they could once again become victims of U.S.-backed Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte's police and army if they returned.

The document goes on to say: "The camps are sanctuaries for subversive organizations."

This is official U.S. endorsement for the justification given by the Honduran army not only for its latest bloody raid, but its ongoing campaign against Colomoncagua and other refugee camps.

When refugees in Colomoncagua rejected a proposed repatriation plan in April of this year, Col. Abraham García Turcios, the head of the Honduran National Refugee Commission, threatened that "they would pay" for their rejection. Apparently, this

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Lebanon: Who Are the Real Terrorists? Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

South Africa's Rulers Brutalize Black Miners. Film showing and discussion of *Adapt or Die*, a film on Black trade unions in South Africa. Speaker: representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Sept. 22, 7 p.m. 611/A Tennessee Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Morgantown

South Africa: Black Majority Rule Now! Film: *Adapt or Die*, on Black trade unions in South Africa. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Sept. 15, 7 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum Series. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

was no idle threat.

Colomoncagua is also one of the camps that has been subjected to a severe food shortage in an attempt by the Honduran government to force the refugees to leave.

The camps at Colomoncagua have been surrounded by between 35 and 60 Honduran counterinsurgency troops since May 14. On May 20, soldiers seized a refugee from the camp. He was beaten and then released. A "shoot on sight" curfew is in effect around the camp for after 5 p.m.

The State Department paper explained the key reason for wanting to move the refugees was that "the closure of Colomoncagua will be an important step in ridding the border of insurgent activity."

"When the border is more secure," it said, "it will be easier for the Honduran military to make sweeps of the area and to disrupt any regional insurgency activity there."

There have been several reports of Honduran troops participating in Salvadoran army operations in border areas.

In the wake of the raid, Colonel Turcios announced at a news conference in the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa that the refugees would be moved from the border area in the next few months.

Slave labor laws for Black workers

Continued from Page 7

effects on African social life that follow.

All together, there are some 2 million African migrant workers throughout the country, in many urban areas comprising about half of the African work force. The number of commuter workers — who live in Bantustan townships close to the major industrial centers and commute to work on a daily basis — has also been growing. In 1970 there were 300,000 of them; by 1976 there were 637,000.

Historically, it was the gold mines that first introduced the migratory labor system to South Africa on a large scale. The vast bulk of the nearly 400,000 Black gold miners are still migrants.

The migratory labor system also made

headway on the white-owned farms. Out of a total of nearly a million African farm laborers, some 570,000 were registered as migrants in 1977.

The migratory labor system in general gives the regime and the employers a much firmer grip over African workers. Suspected "agitators" can be kept from returning to the cities by simply denying them readmission after their contracts have expired. Until 1979 migrant workers were prohibited from organizing unions. They are not allowed to strike. If they strike anyway, they can be quickly deported back to the Bantustans.

The hostels and compounds that migrant workers must live in ... bear a striking resemblance to prisons.

End all U.S. ties to Apartheid!

Young Socialist

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Current issue of the *Young Socialist* contains articles on the freedom struggle in South Africa and the growing anti-apartheid movement in this country and internationally.

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VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip: 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

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WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 611A Tennessee. Zip: 25302. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Squelching free enterprise — Rather than fight the feds, the maker of Rid-All Flea Crystals agreed to shelve the stuff even though it was retailing for up to \$2

For who? — "One man, one vote would mean majority rule. And majority rule would be a disaster." — A white South African businessman.

percent higher than the pace of inflation.

Spread of American culture — Fred Schneider of the American Wheat Institute is in China plugging sliced white bread, "the same as you buy in any American supermarket." Shifting from rice to white bread, he says, will give the Chinese people more time for work and leisure, noting that it takes 20 minutes to boil rice, plus scraping out the pot afterward.

Things-are-tough-all-over dept. — Johnny Carson's divorce settlement includes turning over three New York city apartments to his ex-spouse, plus their home in Bel-Air. Johnny will be left with ownership of their pad in New York's Trump Tower, and the house in Malibu.

Bantam bagels — WhatsaBagel is trying to promote a 4-oz. bagel but distributors want the 2-oz. size, insisting customers want a bagel they can toast. The marketing director for Lender's frozen bagels says the small ones with the big holes are "toaster compatible."

Most likely story of the week — New York police say they caught the burglar who reportedly lifted some \$20,000 in valuables from the apartment of former police commissioner Robert McGuire. Ninety percent of the loot was recovered. Police assured no priority was given to the case, and no special effort made.



Harry Ring

an ounce. The Seattle EPA office said that since it claimed to control fleas it would have to be registered as a pesticide even though it isn't. Rid-All is table salt.

Sounds reasonable — Since 1982, the Pentagon has based its weapons funding requests on the assumption that the cost of such goodies would escalate at a rate 30

That'll do it — To bolster public confidence, Union Carbide created a new health and safety division with a top company lawyer assigned to head it up.

The march of science — You'll be seeing more of a new incandescent white light in your supermarket. The light brings out the reds in the color spectrum, making produce look brighter, and the shoppers themselves look ruddier and happier. At least until they hit the checkout.

Detroit teachers win wage increase in new contract

BY TIM CRAINE

DETROIT — Members of the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) have returned to work with a tentative agreement for a two-year contract with the Board of Education. Negotiations for the agreement concluded just hours before the scheduled start of the school year on August 26. Most teachers had expected to be on strike.

The agreement provides for an immediate salary increase of 10 percent, with two more increases in the second year of 4 percent and 3 percent. This breaks the pattern of frozen wages and concession agreements which Detroit teachers have lived with for the past three years. It begins to help Detroit teacher salaries catch up with those of the surrounding suburbs, which are, on the average, substantially higher.

In the second year of the contract, teachers will receive optical coverage for the first time. Progress in equalizing salaries has been made with the number of steps required to reach maximum salary reduced from eleven to ten; newly hired teachers will start on what was the second step.

No major concessions were made by the union. Although the Board had insisted on a co-pay plan for insurance coverage, the union succeeded in forcing them to drop this demand. The DFT — an affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers — did agree to two additional report cards per year, which means more paperwork for teachers, and a modified high school schedule which may mean ten minutes of extra duty time each day for some teachers.

No progress was made on long-standing union demands for reduced class size and preparation periods for elementary teachers. Nothing was done to correct the inequity between regular contract teachers and adult education teachers. The latter perform the same duties but are paid at a much lower hourly rate and do not receive full benefits for their families. In effect, they have become second-class members of the union. Dissatisfaction among adult education teachers was evidenced as they walked out of the union meeting and later picketed DFT headquarters.

The progress that was made in this contract reflected the unity and determination

forged by Detroit teachers last spring when they overwhelmingly rejected an attempt by the National Education Association (NEA) to replace the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) as the bargaining agent. The plight of the adult education teachers, however, indicates that the union will have to take a stronger stand in support of all of its members if it is to avoid being weakened by internal division. Only the board benefits from maintaining a class of workers who are denied full benefits.

In a statement circulated to teachers at their contract meeting, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, Kibwe Diarra, solidized with the struggle of teachers for

a decent contract. Diarra pointed to Detroit's high class size maximum (35) and the fact that two-thirds of students entering Detroit high schools drop out before graduation. Money spent for each Detroit student is \$2,766 compared with \$4,728 in the upper-class suburb of Bloomfield Hills.

Diarra blasted the city administration's policy of giving tax breaks to corporations like General Motors while working-class taxpayers carry the burden. He advocated equal educational funding for all students based on taxing the big corporations and slashing the federal military budget.

Tim Craine is a member of DFT Local 231.

Darryl Hunt defense harassed in N.C.

BY MIKE NICHOLSON

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — The Darryl Hunt Defense Committee appeared before the Forsyth Superior Court here in early August to answer questions by District Attorney Donald Tisdale and Judge Preston Cornelius concerning its financial records. The legal maneuver by the district attorney is part of a continual harassment campaign against the supporters of Darryl Hunt and his defense committee.

Darryl Hunt is a young Black worker who was convicted of murder in June. His conviction for a brutal murder in August 1984 has provoked outrage in the Winston-Salem Black community.

A motion was filed by the district attorney to open the books of the Darryl Hunt defense fund to determine if the fund should be required to pay for some of the fees of Hunt's attorney. Around \$5,000 was collected for the defense fund.

The district attorney said this money should affect the status of Hunt as an indigent, and that the defense fund money should be used to pay for some of Hunt's court-appointed lawyers' fees. The district attorney said this should apply specifically to Hunt's upcoming appeal and the money the defense committee continues to raise.

The district attorney has requested the total of all funds received by the defense fund, copies of all receipts given to donors, copies of all bank statements for all deposits, and copies of all cancelled checks.

In effect, the district attorney is asking the state court to determine how the Darryl Hunt Defense Committee will spend its money.

Hunt supporters have argued that these undemocratic demands threaten their constitutional rights to free speech and assembly. It is an attempt to control how an organization of private individuals wants to act and spend their money.

Lawyers for the Darryl Hunt Defense Committee were able to win a postponement of the court's ruling on this matter until early September.

The Darryl Hunt Defense Committee has also continued to organize a number of public activities. There were three public events organized in August at churches in Winston-Salem. On August 24, 100 Hunt supporters rallied at Dellabrook Presbyterian Church. Maya Angelou, a noted author and poet, was the featured speaker at the event. Money was raised to help continue the committee's work.

For more information contact the Darryl Hunt Defense Committee at P.O. Box 2911, Winston-Salem, N.C. 27102.

10 dead in Chilean protest

BY GEORGE KAPLAN

Chilean police and government-linked paramilitary gunmen killed at least 10 people September 4 and 5 during country-wide demonstrations against the military dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. Nearly 600 people were arrested.

Many of the actions centered in working-class communities and in schools in and around the capital of Santiago. In addition, truckdrivers staged a strike, bus drivers stayed home, and shopkeepers shut their stores.

Pinochet has ruled Chile since 1973, when he led a military coup that overthrew the democratically-elected government of Salvador Allende. Pinochet's forces murdered Allende and thousands of workers and peasants.

According to the *New York Times*, the protests were "the largest in a year and the first major show of opposition force since June, when General Pinochet lifted a seven-month state of siege."

The demonstrations resulted from an August 26 appeal by 11 political parties for elections. The broadening opposition to Pinochet was indicated by the support given to the call from Roman Catholic Cardinal Juan Francisco Fresno.

The 11 parties called for a gathering in downtown Santiago September 4 — Chile's traditional election day — to sign petitions supporting elections. Thousands participated and were attacked by police using tear gas and water cannons.

The Communist Party, which is banned in Chile and was not among the signers of

the appeal, joined others in calling for broader protests.

A memorial mass had been scheduled in Santiago for a priest murdered by government cops. Cardinal Fresno cancelled it, reportedly because he feared violent protests against the regime. "But the mass was held nonetheless," reported the *Washington Post*, "in a church in the slum where the priest worked. Afterward, chanting crowds erected barricades and heaved rocks at police." Six deaths admitted by the government occurred here.



Students participating in recent protest against the Pinochet dictatorship.

S.F. rally marks Chicano Moratorium

BY DIANA CANTÚ

SAN FRANCISCO — On August 29, 1970, 100,000 people poured into the streets of Los Angeles in the National Chicano Moratorium protesting the U.S. war in Vietnam. The antiwar march was violently attacked by rioting cops, resulting in the deaths of three Chicanos.

Here on August 25, the fifteenth anniversary of that march was celebrated with a rally at Dolores Park. A crowd of about 3,000 gathered for the annual cultural and political celebration.

The main themes of the rally were celebration of the heritage of the Chicano nationality and Latino peoples, opposition to the U.S. aggression in Central America, and solidarity with Nicaragua and the rebels in El Salvador as well as the struggle of Blacks in South Africa.

Floyd Westerman from the American Indian Movement spoke and performed music. He stated that American Indians and Latinos are related not only by blood but by a common oppression. He also remarked at the large number of Blacks in the audience saying that their solidarity with Latinos and American Indians is an important component in the struggle against racism and oppression in this country.

Several speakers talked about the history of the movement against the war in Vietnam and the Chicano people's role in the opposition to that war. They made the connection between the Vietnam war and the current U.S. war in Central America.

Speakers pointed to the racist nature of current prowar propaganda. In such films as "Rambo" and "Red Dawn" Latinos are projected as ignorant "Soviet dupes." As one speaker said, "In Nicaragua they're struggling for self-determination, the same as we are here."

Among the cultural highlights were a group of traditional Aztec dancers from Mexico City, a performance by the band Grupo 19 de Julio (July 19 Group), a brief talk by Teatro Campesino founder Luis Valdez, and several antiwar "raps" (spoken lyrics accompanied by music).

Bill Stroud from the San Francisco Anti-Apartheid Committee gave an update on recent events in South Africa. He urged everyone present to participate in a number of upcoming actions protesting apartheid.

The tables of two anti-apartheid groups did a brisk business as did a literature table of the Socialist Bookstore. The special anti-apartheid issue of the *Militant* was also well received.

South Africa & Central America

The heroic struggle of the Black masses in South Africa against the racist, apartheid system is the greatest ally in the world today of the embattled people of Nicaragua and El Salvador.

In Nicaragua, the U.S.-organized *contras* are waging a war to overthrow the workers' and peasants' government, which the Nicaraguan people put in power after the 1979 overthrow of the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza.

In El Salvador, Washington is financing the regime of President José Napoleón Duarte to the tune of \$1.5 million *per day* as he carries out massive bombing raids in the countryside against his own people. To aid this effort, Washington just sent another dozen helicopter gunships to El Salvador. These deadly weapons can fire thousands of rounds of ammunition per minute.

In South Africa, too, it is Washington and Wall Street that ultimately stand behind the imperialist white minority government that oppresses and exploits 28 million Blacks.

In each case, the enemy is the same: U.S. imperialism, which the Sandinista people's anthem so correctly calls "the enemy of humanity."

In each case, long-oppressed peoples are waging revolutionary struggles to free themselves from imperialist domination. Successes by fighters in each country reinforce and inspire the others.

The struggle in South Africa is a special problem for the U.S. ruling class because it is shaking one of Washington's imperialist allies, a regime that the White House depends on to help police the continent of Africa.

The fact that the apartheid system has ignited the moral outrage of working people and all believers in democratic rights and fair play has created divisions among the imperialist powers over how to respond to the growing demand by South Africa's majority for an end to apartheid.

The breadth of the opposition to apartheid in the United States has helped fuel the discussion and debate within the U.S. ruling class, as well. That growing opposition combined with the continuing mass upsurge in South Africa is what led the Reagan administration to impose mild sanctions on South Africa.

Especially important is the degree of trade union involvement in the anti-apartheid protests. The labor movement, from the AFL-CIO Executive Council on down, is speaking out against the contemporary slavemasters in South Africa.

This means Washington can't focus its attention solely on rolling back the struggles in Central America.

Thus, the actions of the workers, peasants, students, and other youth of South Africa are giving the Sandinista fighters in Nicaragua and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador some more breathing space; a little more time.

For all opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America, therefore, participating in and building the anti-apartheid movement is the most important thing to do today to oppose Washington's war drive.

The struggle against apartheid is aiding the fight against U.S. intervention in another way as well.

Washington's refusal to break all ties with the repugnant and morally indefensible regime in South Africa has made millions of U.S. workers and farmers more willing and able to see that the U.S. government's role in Central America is also reprehensible.

The political thinking and interest that the fight against apartheid has roused in the U.S. population means there's a broader audience that is open to discussing and acting against U.S. intervention in Central America. The fact that the unions have taken a stand and *action* against apartheid will make it that much easier to get unions and unionists to discuss and act on Central America.

When Washington refuses to line up on the right side in South Africa in the name of opposing "communism," it makes it easier to expose and answer Washington's anticommunist justification for its war in Central America.

And it's among the thousands of unionists, farmers, students, women, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and others who are getting involved in protests of every variety against South Africa that antiwar activists will find the most support for their demand: "Embargo South Africa, not Nicaragua."

Farrell Dobbs on forging fighting union movement

In the 1930s workers began to learn through strike battles the importance of winning solidarity to effectively take on the employers' attacks. An invaluable educational source on one chapter of those struggles is contained in the four-volume *Pathfinder Press* series on the Teamsters union by Farrell Dobbs.

Dobbs, a longtime central leader of the Socialist Workers Party who died in 1983, was a leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes.

We are reprinting below excerpts from the "Afterword" in the last volume of that series, *Teamster Bureaucracy*. ©Copyright 1977, Anchor Foundation, Inc.; reprinted by permission of the publisher.

The workers will learn to generalize their needs, as a class, and to address their demands on a political basis to the capitalists, as a class. Political confrontation of that kind — for example, the nationalization of a given industry under workers' control — will raise labor action as a whole to a higher plane and at the same time impart new vigor to the continuing trade union struggles. Increased militancy within industry will serve, in turn, to reinforce

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

activity in the political sphere. In that way interacting processes will develop through which the workers will attain greater class consciousness, more complete solidarity, and, hence, mounting ability to outfight the bosses.

Before unity of the exploited masses can be attained, however, still another of organized labor's existing policies must be thoroughly reversed. The labor movement must champion and give unqualified support to the demands of the Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians, and other oppressed national minorities, and of women and youth.

As [Russian revolutionist] Leon Trotsky insisted in discussions during the 1930s, the American workers must learn to act politically and to think socially if they are to attain the class consciousness and solidarity needed to defeat the exploiters. This is the opposite of the narrow class-collaborationist course pursued by the labor bureaucracy and the privileged layers they reflect. Thus, as a matter of principle, the trade union movement must use its power to actively fight for such progressive demands as affirmative action programs against racial and sexual discrimination on the job, in the union, in hiring, housing, health care, and education; the right to abortion and childcare; busing and bilingual, bicultural education; the right to a free college education for all youth.

If unconditional backing of that kind is given, the labor movement will be helping itself in a double sense. The strengthening of anticapitalist struggles on other fronts will make it harder for the employing class to concentrate its fire on the trade unions. The greater the scope of mass confrontations with the bosses' government, the more effectively will labor be able to involve its natural allies in the development of independent political action on a massive scale. This was true in the 1930s and it is even truer today, when women, oppressed nationalities, and workers under twenty have become the majority of the American work force and a substantial component of the union movement.

In addition, the experience of the Vietnam War holds an important lesson for the trade union movement. The labor bureaucrats sided with the imperialist aggressors in that conflict, against the welfare of people in the U.S. and in violation of the rights of another nation. But many in this country, who had the insight and courage to uphold the democratic principle of self-determination for colonial peoples, opposed the assault on the Vietnamese. Taking to the streets in vast protest demonstrations, they organized one of the most powerful mass movements in U.S. history. This domestic resistance made it politically untenable for the U.S. capitalists to proceed at all hazards with their attempt to conquer the people of Vietnam, who defended themselves heroically and effectively. In the end the imperialists were frustrated and defeated. The intended victims established the right to manage their country's affairs as they may choose. Here at home, all who are fighting for their own democratic rights, for changes in social and economic policies, acquired new struggle momentum from the setback dealt to the U.S. imperialists abroad.

Organized labor can profit by following the example set by the antiwar movement. If trade unionists aid the victims of U.S. imperialism in other countries — and at the same time back all progressive causes within the United States — they will earn extensive support for their own struggles. An anticapitalist united front can thus be built, both nationally and internationally, and, as it grows in strength, the relationship of class forces will be changed to the decisive advantage of the workers and their allies.

Setback on comparable pay issue

The fight for equal pay for comparable work suffered a setback with a federal court decision declaring employers have the right to pay whatever the market will permit them to get away with.

A three-judge panel of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco ruled September 4 that the state of Washington had not violated civil rights laws by paying women workers less than men for jobs of comparable value.

This is so, the judges held, even though the state's own findings confirmed that women employees were being paid 20 percent less than men for jobs that required comparable skills, training, and abilities.

Those findings were confirmed by a federal judge who ruled there was "overwhelming" evidence that the state maintained an illegal wage system "which discriminates on the basis of sex."

The judge's 1983 decision was in response to a suit filed by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. The union acted after the Washington legislature enacted a law that year to establish a comparable worth wage policy for the state — over a ten-year period.

The "gradually" law was based on a study commissioned nine years previous.

The union's court action served to accelerate the fight for wages based on comparable worth, a necessary backup to the demand for equal pay for equal work. Large numbers of women workers are restricted to jobs that are not the same as men's "but are clearly of comparable value and therefore deserving of equal pay."

But the unabashedly pro-employer Appeals Court panel declared, "Neither law nor logic deems the free-market system a suspect enterprise."

Assailing the ruling, Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, said this means, "You get away with discrimination if everybody else is doing it."

Lawyers for the union said the decision would be appealed.

The reactionary court decision in the Washington case is one more signal of the determination of government and employers to contain and roll back the gains of women workers. Labor and the women's rights movement need to respond accordingly.

Get out truth — sell 'Militant'

Continued from front page

cist victimizations by the government.

Women's rights fighters are organizing a vital campaign in defense of safe, legal abortion in opposition to government and rightist attacks.

Militant activity around a given issue inevitably broadens the political horizons of the participants. A vivid example is the number of farm protest activists who have been participating in tours to Nicaragua.

And there are important beginnings of urgently needed strike solidarity within the union movement itself. This has been shown in the solidarity won by striking shipyard workers at Bath, Maine, locked-out steelworkers in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia, and Hormel strikers in Minnesota. And a few weeks ago we had the inspiring caravan of Detroit auto workers to Belfry, Kentucky, in support of striking A.T. Massey coal miners — "From Motown to Coaltown."

All of this — from South Africa to Kentucky — receives regular coverage in the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

And what we're finding these past weeks is that there's a lot of working people out there who are looking for exactly this kind of information.

For getting out the truth and spreading socialist ideas, this is really the time. There is already a busy fall agenda of activities to be supported and built, activities that are

also a natural for gaining new readers.

There's the September 21-25 Pledge of Resistance in opposition to the U.S. aggression in Central America; on October 11, the major National Anti-Apartheid Protest Day, with additional activities planned in the weeks after; on October 6, there are pro-abortion rights pickets at the Supreme Court and federal courthouses around the country called by the National Organization for Women.

Members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are geared up for our sales campaign. We hope others of our readers and supporters will want to join in. If that includes you, check the SWP branches and YSA chapters listed on page 16. Or if you would like a bundle, of whatever size, of the *Militant* and/or *Perspectiva Mundial*, write to: Circulation Office, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Two special four-page supplements on South Africa are also available. One is published by the *Militant*, the other by our Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*. The supplements can either be distributed with current issues of the *Militant* and *PM*, or sold and distributed separately.

A final, important point. As we launch our sales drive, we are also beginning the campaign for our \$125,000 Socialist Publication Fund. Our expanded circulation efforts mean added expenditures. To bridge that financial gap, we are dependent on our supporters. All contributions, large or small, are much welcomed.

How free enterprise fights poverty in Tunica, Miss.

Commenting on the recent statistics that showed a nine-tenths of one percent drop in the poverty rate in this country, President Reagan said from his California ranch that this was "further proof that the greatest enemy of poverty is the free enterprise system."

After reading that, I said let's see how the free enterprise system fights poverty in the poorest county in the



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Rashaad Ali

poorest state in the country. That's Tunica County, Mississippi.

In Tunica the free enterprise system has not only had both eyes blackened, nose broken, and teeth knocked out, but this fighter of poverty is suffering brain damage from too many lost bouts with poverty.

I first heard of Tunica at the July PUSH convention in Memphis, Tennessee. The convention sent a bus and car caravan 30 miles to Tunica, so we could see it up close.

What did we find out about Tunica?

Tunica County has 9,600 residents, including 1,300 in

the city of Tunica. The county is 75 percent Black and 25 percent white. The city is 75 percent white and 25 percent Black. For whites, Tunica is a prosperous farming community.

Sugar Ditch is in Tunica. Sugar Ditch is a group of shanty houses where about 200 people live, mostly women and children. It is named for the five-foot-wide, mile-long ditch that is used by the people there to dump human wastes because most of the shacks do not have bathrooms or running water.

These shacks are home for people, and rats and roaches, and also snakes, which come in through the cracks in the walls to get out of the sun.

A 35-year resident in one of the houses in Sugar Ditch said that his house did not have running water for three decades and "the owners have never put a nail to a board, no repair, no nothing."

These houses are located between a newly renovated business district in downtown Tunica and homes that are worth \$50,000 to \$100,000.

There are 38 millionaires, mostly plantation owners, in Tunica County. But the per capita income in the county is about \$4,000.

Some of the property in Sugar Ditch is owned by the tax assessor and two members of the city council.

Residents pay between \$25 and \$85 a month to live there and are charged for sewer services but never receive them.

Public schools are segregated. Most whites go to an all-white private school. The public school has little or no equipment.

When Blacks complain to their landlords about the conditions of the houses that they live in, they are told "if you don't like it, get out."

One Sugar Ditch tenant was told by her landlord that if he put in running water and a sewage line her rent would jump to \$165 a month.

Reagan's rejoicing over a tiny drop in the poverty rate and insulting statements about fighting poverty will not make the Sugar Ditches that exist in the country disappear.

Tunica is but one of the extreme examples of what the capitalist system produces. But it is only the tip of a very large iceberg.

The ramshackle shacks of Sugar Ditch are an indictment of every state and federal government since the overthrow of Tunica County's only Black government in 1876.

No state health-care agency, or federal one for that matter, has visited Tunica to deal with these conditions.

No one from Washington has done anything to improve the housing, schools, or job training.

What the impoverished people of Tunica need is concrete action by the federal government. But this will only begin to happen when the Black rights organizations and the labor movement actively take up their plight and demand relief.

'Racism hurts only us, the union' not the company

BY MARI HAWKES

SAN DIEGO — "Workers hired after June 1982 make 2 dollars less than workers hired before June 1982. Under this, new hires will always make 2 dollars less, while General Dynamics made a profit of 2 billion last year. We say end the .02 labor grades."

Translated into Laotian, Spanish, Vietnamese, and Tagalog right on the shop floor, a leaflet denouncing the

UNION TALK

dual wage scale was put out by the union whose contract expires September 22.

The success of this leaflet prompted the union to put out more multilingual leaflets. So at our September union meeting there were leaflets explaining the COLA (cost-of-living-allowance), the need for automatic progression, why new hires must participate (the company has been hiring over 100 workers a month throughout the summer months), and a leaflet explaining, "Racism hurts only us, the union, and benefits the company," in Laotian, Spanish, Vietnamese, and Tagalog.

These leaflets are an example of the kind of solidarity necessary to win a better contract in our local's fight to regain what was lost three years ago when a dual wage scale was instituted by the company. This dual wage has electronic assemblers starting as low as \$3.70 an hour with a maximum of \$4.50 an hour.

The overwhelming majority of workers at General Dynamics Electronics (GDE) in San Diego are young, female, Southeast Asian, Filipino, Mexican, Chicano, and Black. Most of them have been hired after June 28 — under the dual wage scale. Many are not U.S. citizens and most have never been in a union before, let alone been involved in a contract fight.

The company has been in the forefront in trying to divide the union along racial lines. Certain up-grades are never given to immigrant workers and certain "top-secret" departments bar immigrant workers for so-called security reasons. Supervisors belittle workers who don't speak perfect English. We are told the bathrooms are dirty due to the backwardness of the work force when the real reason is that the company doesn't hire enough janitors.

Under this kind of daily intimidation, an opinion has surfaced to the effect that immigrant workers are too afraid to go on strike. But with the contract deadline ap-

proaching and as more discussion takes place, this thinking can be combated. Leaflets explaining contract issues in different languages are one way. Workers of all nationalities wearing T-shirts that say "Make my day, equal pay" every Friday also illustrates who supports the union. It is becoming more clear to other workers that immigrant workers have even more reason to want to fight for a better contract because of the same discrimination that often bars them from higher-paying jobs outside of GDE.

After a successful rally that kicked off negotiations and was attended by over 500 people of all different nationalities, one young white worker from the machine shop said, "Some people say that the Southeast Asians will never get involved and go out on strike, but at this rally they were the ones that were there in force."

This was also seen at the strike sanction vote. Out of 1,740 members of the union, 1,233 voted, or 72 percent. Ninety-eight percent voted "yes" to sanction a strike. The myth that immigrant workers do not want to get involved and are too afraid to strike is becoming just that — a myth.

Mari Hawkes is an electronics assembler at General Dynamics in San Diego and a member of IAM Local 1125.

LETTERS

USP-Marion lockdown

For nearly two years we've been on punitive lockdown at USP-Marion for the slaying of two guards in its control unit in September 1983.

Congress, under the leadership of Congressman Robert Kastenmeier, hasn't been too receptive to our pleas to reopen the prison and permit us (prisoners) to testify before an independent committee about the lockdown and how it's affected us, our family members and friends who've tried to visit us during this period. Suffice it to say that it's been extremely unpleasant for everyone concerned.

Instead Congressman Kastenmeier has only been responsive to the Bureau of Prison administrators and the people supporting the lockdown, so much so that the responsibility for and cause of the lockdown have all been shifted to USP-Marion's inmate population! However, the archaic operational policies of the BOP and the insensitivity of the people who enforce them actually caused the September 1983 lockdown and the deaths which preceded it. But no one will listen to us.

Perhaps some public spirited people can write or call their respective U.S. representative or U.S. senator in support of our position. Kindly refer to the June 26, 1985, Kastenmeier committee hearing on the USP-Marion lockdowns.

A prisoner
Marion, Illinois

South Africa sanctions

I received my first issue of the *Militant*. If there is anything I can do to increase the circulation of the *Militant* inside the prison walls, let me know.

Racial segregation and political repression are the basic components of the apartheid political system. Apartheid is an antipopular form of government not only in South Africa, but outside of its frontier as well. It has to rely on its military might in order to function.

The South African regime thinks that by utilizing repressive methods, it is going to solve the antagonisms between an exploited majority and an exploiter minority. The recent political events in South Africa have shown that the South African people won't tolerate apartheid for much longer.

The nations that really want to help the South African people must act in a common effort and bring forward a set of sanctions against the government of South Africa.

Dario Lora
Dannemora, New York

Africana Books

If any *Militant* readers are looking for the best of Africana books on culture, education, economics, law, religion, wildlife, travel, trade, politics, etc. on an exchange basis, then please write for my printed catalogue. Enclose two International Postal Reply coupons for speedy dispatch of the

catalogue via airmail.

F.R. Kandie
P.O. Box 45927
Nairobi, Kenya

Malcolm X

First and foremost, let me extend my gratitude toward the *Militant* and the esteemed comrades who make the prisoners' subscription fund possible.

Although there are many good subjects covered by the *Militant* each month, my attention was drawn more so toward a July 12, 1985, article on Brother Malcolm X.

Because I was only a youth at the time of his assassination, certain truths were not known to me. Your article has given me the opportunity to explore questions and seek answers that would otherwise not have come to mind.

A prisoner
San Quentin, California

Inspired by Militant

I am currently incarcerated in the Texas Department of Corrections, and my encounters with the *Militant* newspaper have inspired me with a growing interest because I'm aware that I'm a part of the struggle also.

Unfortunately I am unable to finance a subscription to the *Militant* newspaper.

Your consideration concerning this matter will be highly appreciated.

A prisoner
Loveland, Texas

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KIDS



One of the best

I am writing to ask you if I can receive your newspaper. Right now I'm currently incarcerated and my financial situation looks very bad at this time.

I must say your *Militant* newspaper is one of the best papers that I have seen or read in a long time. You cover stories that other papers wouldn't even consider covering.

A prisoner
Bellefonte, Pennsylvania

Corrections

In last week's *Militant* article on the Socialist Workers Party convention the number of women delegates was misstated. The majority of the 70 delegates, or 37, were women.

In a page one article on an At-

lanta anti-apartheid demonstration the last name of Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa was incorrect.

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Hormel strikers win solidarity

Twin Cities unionists bring food to meatpackers

BY JEAN ARMBRUSTER
AND STEVE WATTENMAKER

AUSTIN, Minn. — Striking meatpackers and townspeople here gave a thunderous welcome to a car and truck caravan of supporters from the Twin Cities September 1. A dozen carloads of trade unionists led by a semi-trailer packed with donated food had made the two-hour trip from St. Paul.

The meatpackers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9, walked off their jobs August 17 at the George A. Hormel pork processing plant in Austin.

Six miles outside of Austin the caravan began passing P-9 strikers and their families parked next to the road with big, hand-lettered placards welcoming the Twin Cities supporters. On the outskirts of this small town of 23,000 dominated by the Hormel plant, 100 more cars led by a dozen strikers on motorcycles swelled the caravan.

Local residents in their yards or shopping along the main street shouted greetings and gave the caravan the thumbs-up sign as it snaked through downtown Austin. Many store windows sported "I support P-9" signs. Car horns blared continuously, and passing motorists turned their vehicles into the procession, stretching it out to more than a mile.

P-9 members on picket duty raised their fists and cheered as the caravan passed the sprawling, modern Hormel plant surrounded by a high fence topped with barbed wire.

Rally pledges solidarity

Hundreds of strikers and their families had already gathered at a local baseball stadium for a rally to welcome the convoy.

Tom Laney, president of United Auto Workers Local 879 in St. Paul, told the rally that "building friendship and solidarity is a victory in itself." He pledged his local's continuing support, promising the cheering P-9 members "we will be with you until the thing is won."

Bud Shulte, a leader of the bitter strike last year at Iowa Pork Products in St. Paul, got strong applause when he referred to the South African miners who had gone out on strike the night before.

"Phrases in the media keep haunting me," Shulte said. "They say about the P-9 strike that First Bank should not be a target. They say that now is not the time for a strike. And they say the same thing about South Africa. But the South African miners know who the target is. They know who the enemy is. And they know now is the time."

Local P-9 has been conducting a "corporate campaign" against the Minneapolis-based First Bank as one of Hormel's principal stockholders.

After the rally, P-9 President Jim Guyette told the *Militant* that Hormel's final offer to the union contained unacceptable wage and benefit proposals, attacked the seniority system, and was aimed at weakening health and safety provisions in the contract.

Since the new Austin Hormel plant opened in 1982, Guyette said, the injury rate in the plant has dramatically increased. In 1984 the average injury rate for the meatpacking industry as a whole was 33 per 100 workers. At the Austin plant, the injury rate was 202 injuries per 100 workers.

Referring to the Hormel company's August 20 announcement of an 83 percent profit increase, Guyette said, "There is a tremendous price in human suffering being paid for their increases."

The September 1 caravan and rally in Austin ended the first week of a major effort by P-9 to reach other Hormel workers

in Iowa and Nebraska with an appeal for solidarity.

Austin workers spread message

A group of 300 to 400 P-9 strikers passed out thousands of leaflets and met with packinghouse workers in five cities with plants owned by or linked to Hormel.

Rank-and-file Hormel workers in Ottumwa, Iowa, housed and fed the P-9 strikers and their families, donated \$300 to the P-9 strike fund and organized a solidarity rally that drew 150 Hormel workers from the Ottumwa plant, members of UFCW Local 431.

In Fremont, Nebraska, hundreds of P-9 members lined both sides of the road leading into the Hormel plant there during shift change. They held up placards reading "1985 — Unions Unite," and "Stop First Bank Greed." P-9 supporters in Fremont hosted a solidarity cook-out and 75 Fremont Hormel workers came to a meeting to hear about the P-9 strike.

The P-9 road trip also reached Dubuque, Iowa, where the Austin workers leafleted and met with workers at FDL Foods, which has an agreement allowing Hormel to market its products.

Argentina: workers hit debt crisis

BY SONIA CANDAMIL
AND ANDREA GONZALEZ

BUENOS AIRES, Argentina — More than 200,000 workers demonstrated here August 29 against the government's austerity program and its plans to pay Argentina's massive foreign debt. The government's economic plan is designed to make working people carry the burden of paying the debt. The result has been a drastic reduction in the standard of living of Argentina's working class.

The demonstration culminated a one-day general strike called by the General Confederation of Workers (CGT), Argentina's central labor organization.

Despite the government's warning of possible reprisals against employees of state-owned enterprises if they missed work, and the CGT leadership's own foot dragging in building the action, the strike and demonstration were successful.

Workers in basic industry overwhelmingly answered the CGT's call, paralyzing production. The strike, however, only partially closed down commercial activity.

The only speakers at the rally were Saúl Ubaldini and Osvaldo Borda, the two co-secretaries of the CGT. While neither offered any concrete proposals for an alternative economic plan, both called on the Argentine government to break all relations with the International Monetary Fund (the international organization of imperialist bankers). They also demanded a moratorium on the foreign debt.

When Ubaldini and Borda raised these demands, the workers responded by singing a popular jingle in Argentina today: "Olelé, Olalá si el Fondo quiere plata, que vaya a trabajar" (If the Fund wants money, let it go and get a job).

Many trade union leaders here participated in the trade union conference on the foreign debt crisis in Latin America and the Caribbean this past July in Havana, Cuba. They are beginning to build the October 23 continent-wide action demanding the cancellation of the debt that was called by that conference.

During the demonstration there was a moment of silence for those *compañeros* who have fallen in the struggle. The silence ended with the chant "Ahora, ahora, re-



Labor Day weekend rally in Austin, Minnesota.

ket its products.

Solid support for the P-9 strike is growing among unionists in Minnesota. P-9 representatives plan to speak before local unions across the state and are taking an appeal for solidarity to the Minnesota AFL-CIO convention at the end of September.

On September 3, P-9 received a \$1,000 contribution after speaking to the International Association of Machinists local representing mechanics at Republic Airlines. Later the same day officials of the Graphic Arts International Union in the Twin Cities donated another \$1,500 to the strike fund.

sulta indispensable, aparición con vida y castigo a los culpables" (Release the disappeared alive, punish the guilty).

This is the chant of the many human rights organizations that have been demanding that the government of President Raúl Alfonsín punish those responsible for the over 30,000 people who were disappeared in Argentina during the eight years of the military dictatorship.

The government is attempting to let the leaders of the military junta off the hook for their crimes. It has initiated a campaign to try and disrupt this movement. The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, an organization of mothers whose children were disappeared, have been targeted in this government program. In recent months, President Alfonsín accused the mothers' organization of trying to destroy Argentina by continuing their campaign for justice.

Most recently, the big business press

here ran a story alleging that an accused kidnapper claimed to have carried out these crimes to raise money for the mothers' organization. In the September issue of their paper *Madres de Plaza de Mayo*, the mothers charged the government's intelligence service (political police) with this latest provocation. "This slander," the paper said, "and the government's rightward shift means new and more serious attacks against the human rights organizations."

The depth of the sentiment among the Argentine people to punish all those responsible for the crimes under the dictatorship could be seen in the massive demonstration of tens of thousands here September 6. The action was called by various human rights organizations to protest a government proposal to grant amnesty to these criminals and to demand that they be punished to the maximum extent of the law.

Miami: 3,000 protest Haiti's dictator

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

MIAMI, Fla. — More than 3,000 Haitians rallied at the Notre Dame d'Haiti church in Miami's Little Haiti August 4. The rally was organized by the Haitian Catholic Center and the Haitian Refugee Center, Inc., to protest the murder of Father Albert Desmet. Desmet was a Belgian priest assassinated by agents of the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti on July 20.

The main speakers at the rally were Father Jean Hostens and Father Yvon Pollefeyt, two of three priests recently expelled from Haiti for speaking against the dictatorship. They called for increased protests against the Duvalier regime. The rally also condemned the August 3 police attack upon a Haitian demonstration in New York.

On August 23, Father Gerard Jean-Juste, director of the Haitian Activities Center, Inc., was the featured speaker at a Haiti solidarity meeting sponsored by the Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Association. The meeting was attended by 75 antiwar, anti-apartheid and Haitian activists.

Jean-Juste reviewed the situation in

Haiti, pointing to the recent increase in protests there. The development of many committees of youth that are protesting repression and demanding social change is especially encouraging, he said.

He described the plight of Haitians imprisoned by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Some have been locked up in the notorious Krome Detention Center near Miami for more than 20 months. Hundreds have been deported to Haiti since the start of 1985.

"They go back to every corner of Haiti with the message that the U.S. government does not like Haitians; that the U.S. government mistreats Haitians," Jean-Juste said. "This helps people understand that the U.S. government will go on supporting Duvalier."

Jean-Juste pointed to the struggle in South Africa as an inspiration and hope for the future. "A giant has awakened," he said, "and no one can put him back asleep again." He called on the activists present to keep on fighting against apartheid and to support the Nicaraguan revolution and the fight for the liberation of Haiti.